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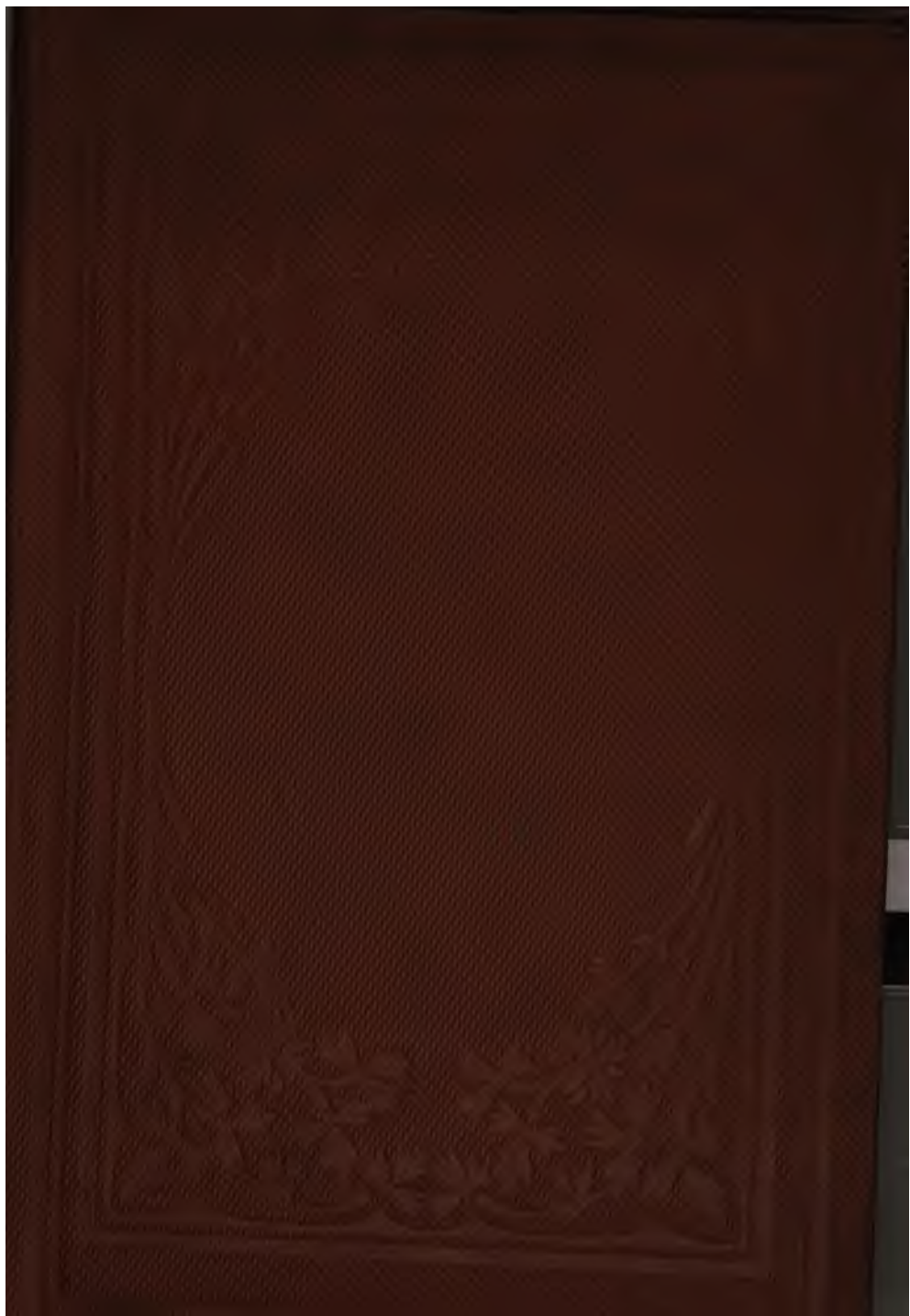
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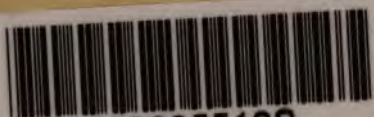
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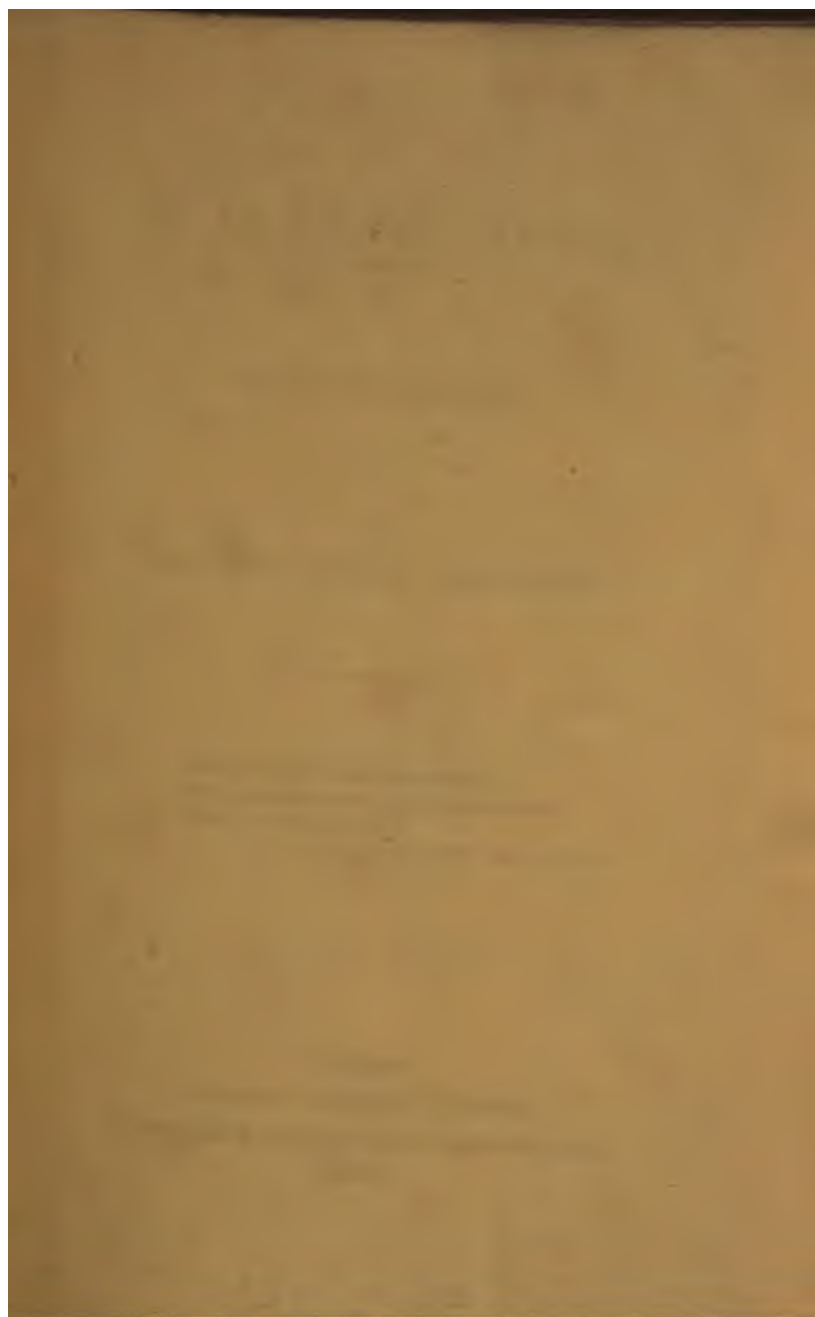
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600035518S



IS IT PEACE, JEHU?

OR

BUONAPARTISM.

BY

AN EX-CABINET MINISTER.

Be thy intents wicked or charitable,
Thou com'st in such a questionable shape
That I will speak to thee.

HAMLET, ACT 1, SC. 4.

LONDON:

THOMAS CAUTLEY NEWBY,

30, WELBECK STREET, CAVENDISH SQUARE.

1860.

237. C. 112.



THE Publisher not having had the privilege of sending the proofs for correction to the Author, begs to apologise, and assume the responsibility for, any trivial errors this Volume may contain.

30, Welbeck Street, Cavendish Square.

July 24th, 1860.

the \mathbb{R}^n -valued function \mathbf{f} is a solution of the system (1.1) if and only if

$$\mathbf{f} \in \mathcal{S}(\mathbb{R}^n, \mathbb{R}^n).$$

Let us assume that the matrix \mathbf{A} is invertible. Then the system (1.1) can be written as

$$\mathbf{f} = \mathbf{A}^{-1} \mathbf{g}.$$

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PREFACE.

WHEN the manuscript was sent to the publisher on the 7th July, the news of the massacre at Zaléh, had only just arrived in England. The intelligence of the general atrocities in Syria, has since produced much excitement in the public mind ; and some of the most influential advocates of the "Integrity of the Turkish Empire," have begun to express doubts as to a policy, that involves such fearful consequences. It is to be hoped this may smooth the way, towards the new policy advocated in these pages ; for assuredly, the retribution of Heaven will fall on this nation, if she longer persists in upholding, or tolerating the rule of, the Reviler of Christ ; and subjecting

those who at least acknowledge his Divine claims, however imperfectly they may comprehend Him, to plunder, pollution, slaughter, and gradual extermination.

The fate of the Christians throughout the Turkish Empire depends on Great Britain, since all that is needed for the overthrow of that degraded Mahometan State, is her consent. She is, therefore, responsible as a Christian nation, before God ; who punishes for refusing to accept, or neglecting to perform, a work that He evidently appoints ; as certainly as for doing, any thing that his commands forbid.

By neglect of duty we have again afforded the Emperor of the French an opportunity of particularly distinguishing himself, by taking the initiative in a Syrian intervention. Are we committed to a long series of such errors ? When will this proposed Syrian occupation end ?

The ———

July 21, 1860.

IS IT PEACE, JEHU?

CHAPTER I.

INQUIETUDE;—uncertainty; — apprehension! These words express the present state of public feeling in Europe; not only on the Continent, but in this country also. The recent past seems almost inexplicable; the present is shrouded in mystery; the future is vaguely alarming. The elements of trouble appear everywhere; the conditions of repose are sought in vain. The bloody reminiscences of the early years of the present century, force themselves like Banquo's ghost before our unwilling eyes. In vain we try to escape them. We endeavour not to see. We strive to out-reason our reason. Our warmest desires are so strongly opposed to our unwilling

convictions, that we would fain scout the latter. Peace and tranquillity in Europe, the extension of commerce, the increase of human happiness; these are our desires. The obliteration of all settled territorial delimitations—provinces and even kingdoms thrown once again into the lucky-bag of war—the destruction of trade and manufactures, and the reign of violence, with its horrors, its suffering, and its sorrow; these unhappily express our convictions. The devastating scourge with its hecatombs of bloody victims; its awfully abundant crop of human misery and woe; its annihilation of the gradual toil-gathered fruits of peaceful industry; its strain upon national resources; its legacy of national burthens, and of consequent individual privations, so horrifies us by its aspect when we take a deliberate view of it in its fancied approach, that despite the inexorable logic of facts—despite the vague and mysterious hand-writing on the wall,

constantly renewing, but which no human wisdom seems to be able clearly to read, interpret and understand, we strive, even while furbishing our arms, and examining with daily increasing interest our means of attack and defence, to wreath our face in smiles—to wrap more closely round us the light and spotless garment of peace, and to laugh at what we are but too willing to term our gloomy delusions. There is, however, nothing gained, and much may be lost by crying peace—peace, when there is no peace. Such a state of armed preparation as now prevails over Europe, and is preying upon our finances, can scarcely be termed peace. It is at best but as a smouldering fire in some closed apartment, that only waits a current of air from an opened door or window to burst into a fearful blaze: a fire that has already commenced its work of destruction, although it has not yet made an exhibition of its fury. That current of air the

master-hand that keeps his finger on the lock and fastenings will not allow to enter, if he can help it, until the exact moment that best suits with his own preparations. But as he is not Destiny, and only an instrument in the hands of Eternal Power, he may be thrust aside even by the erratic force of his own secret contrivances, before the time he has himself designed. The flame may therefore burst forth at any moment. And we have one mental consolation, though a poor one, that there is something on record of "an engineer hoist by his own petard."

One of the worst characteristics of this apprehension is that it is progressive. At first it was only spasmodic. It has lost that type. Men's minds seem to have accustomed themselves to it. They find, or fancy they find continual food for it in passing events, and the supposed indications of forthcoming ones. All belief in stability is destroyed. Change, has established itself in every con-

viction. The most vague and contradictory statements are received as true ; and soon, nothing will be deemed incredible.

Can there be so wide-spread, powerful, and sustained a movement in men's minds, without any real cause ? Is it only a disease ? only the produce of some subtle poison diffused in the moral atmosphere ? Or is it a healthy state of public opinion based on facts, and increased by legitimate conclusions ? If the former, it will be rendering good service to dissipate it. If the latter, it is important not only to strengthen it, but to urge it toward some decision as to a clearly defined course of Action or Inaction.

Whence is its origin ? In the Parisian Coup d'Etat of December, 1851. And it has arrived at its present condition by a consecutive series of subsequent events, more or less directly connected with that startling one.

The Coup d'Etat was the inauguration of resuscitated Buonapartism.

And what is that ?

Concentrated Unity of Democratic power and National energy ; stimulated development ; supreme influence in Europe ; territorial extension of France ; Vanity and Ambition enthroned as Destiny.

The Powers of Europe feared the Republic. They would believe it to contain another 1792. They could not separate in their minds a Republic *per se* from the exceptional elements that imparted a special character to the great revolution. When they saw it was harmless, they did not less abominate it, and instead of adoring it for its inertia, they despised it. They were the Frogs of the fable. The Coup d'État gave them their King Stork.

It was a serious change. Republicanism represented a medley of confused desires ; Buonapartism, a well defined principle. There never was a greater mistake than to see in a Second Buonaparte, securing personal and permanent power, by means pre-

cisely similar to those employed by the First for the same purpose, a suppression of the Revolution. The elected President for life, or the Emperor, was now as before, an embodiment of the aggressive principle of the Revolution—a repressor of its enfeebling tumultuary excesses and discords—an organizer of the Revolutionary forces, and an instrument for giving to them a systematic action and direction.

In this consists the secret of the immense influence of one individual, the possession and exercise of which by him is to so many a source of wonder. They see in him only a Man, of more or less ability; and they cannot comprehend it. Let them regard him as that Embodiment, their astonishment will cease; and something will have been done toward defining the position of Continental Europe and of Great Britain, vis-à-vis, *the great disturbing Cause.*

CHAPTER II.

BUT there must have been something in the state of Europe assisting this embodiment to permit its attaining to that pernicious elevation of external influence it now occupies, filling all eyes ; absorbing all minds ; taking so many strange, confused, and threatening shapes ; producing distrust, disquietude, and alarm ; and converting this quarter of the globe into an immense powder magazine, where accident or design may at any moment apply the fatal match.

Undoubtedly there was. And to form a correct estimate of this something, we must go back to 1815.

The Embodiment of the aggressive principle in the great French Revolution was then got rid of. The principle had worn out its means of action ; and its crowned represen-

tative, the First Napoleon, was compelled by organized Europe to retire from the scene. History cannot produce before us any representative of a principle who more faithfully, consistently, and energetically fulfilled the obligations it imposed. His masterly re-organization of internal order, the indispensable prelude to an enduring organization of the forces of the Revolution for persistent external action, cannot be too highly extolled. His effective concentration of all power in himself as the visible exponent of the aggressive principle, while leaving the semblance of consultative influence between himself and the people, was admirable; his efforts to promote the development of internal resources were wise and unceasing; and in nothing did he give fuller evidence of his indubitable superiority, than in his perfect comprehension that as the embodiment of such a principle, the essential condition of his public existence was opposed to any Consti-

tutional interference of the nation, that might in the smallest degree control the exercise of that power through and by which alone it could act.

While the forces of the Aggressive principle that had brought all continental Europe to its feet, were becoming enfeebled by inordinate exercise, those of the Repressive were acquiring new vigour, better organized action, and more efficient union. These in their turn prevailed; and the Titan was overthrown.

In the Congress for general pacification that followed at Vienna, the wishes and desires of provinces and peoples were sacrificed to a chimera entitled, Balance of Power. The Repressive principle was insolent in its vigour, now that its great enemy was removed. The pernicious doctrine was again in the ascendant, that Territories and Peoples were created and formed for the use of Emperors and Kings; that the fiat of

these in Congress as to whom those should be apportioned to, and should obey, was final; and that Balance of Power, then Universal Prime Minister, could alone be consulted in the matter of conflicting claims and desires.

All the evils to which Europe had been a prey, were of course attributed to power having fallen into the hands of the people of one State. Very little if any of the blame was given to the infamous abuses and tyranny there overthrown, which had plunged the people into a most awful demoralization and savage desperation;—and none, to the vice of arbitrary and tyrannical rule, and miserably inefficient organization in all the other States. It is not surprising, that under such circumstances, and with Divine Right as a re-established article of royal creed, the problem each and all of them occupied themselves in solving was, not, to find the maximum of liberty with which their subjects might be safely entrusted, but, the maximum

of repression to which they might without danger be subjected.

But amid war, invasion, and suffering, the breath of Freedom had become mixed with the atmosphere of the nations, and there was no process by which indignant power could extract it for annihilation. It was regarded as a sort of explosive gas, that a little strange fire might make destructive. In organizing its forces for the final triumph over the aggressive principle, that had by the continual sufferings and humiliations it inflicted, made itself odious to peoples, as well as to dethroned and coerced Monarchs, subjects had been addressed as if they were thinking beings; and been urged to peril their lives in the rescue, by fair and flattering, though generally ambiguous promises. The desired result obtained, these seemed to be remembered by their authors, not with pleasure, or in gratitude, with a view to their conscientious fulfilment; but with indigna-

tion that they should have felt themselves under the necessity of using such means to induce patriotic efforts, where all ought to have been done from personal devotion to the representatives of Deity; who are entitled of course to demand all from those under their sway; and to bestow nothing in return but the exhibition of some rays of their glory.

And so a Holy Alliance was arranged, that, by mutual co-operation, the Great Potentates might immediately extinguish every subversive effort; and all might feel themselves secure in the exercise of their stringent rule. It must be allowed that its regulations and decisions, had a strong sulphureous odour.* Great Britain had at least counselled the keeping faith with their subjects; had advised some modification of their repressive internal system;—some little de-

* Perhaps in consequence of the waters drunk at Aix-la-Chapelle.

velopment of free institutions. And it is not using too forcible language to say, that these were deemed offences that cancelled all the obligations they owed to her for the blood she had given, the money she had spent, and the several hundred millions of debt she had incurred, to assist them in liberating themselves and their people from the tyranny of continuous and unscrupulous aggression.

There were not a few in England, and among the noblest of her sons, who deplored that she should thus have lavished precious lives, and wealth of until then inconceivable amount, for re-establishing the grinding despotisms of the Continent, as contemptible in the qualities of the Sovereigns as odious in the puerile severity of their Rule. When they beheld human freedom compressed within the narrowest limits—the circulation of the Word of God almost every where prohibited—the spiritual tyranny of Rome

almost universally re-established with renewed life and vigour,—the greater part of Europe in the chains of political and religious bondage, and remembered that our blood—our treasure—the wealth, power and vigour that God had given to this great free Protestant people had been employed to produce that result, because of our distrust in His protecting providence, they believed there had been grievous errors in her councils, and that a load of debt, imposing much suffering and privation, was but a light chastisement for so great a sin against God, so great a crime as regards our fellow men. They felt too that such an error could not be repeated with safety.

CHAPTER III.

“OH, the Treaty of Vienna gave nearly forty years of but triflingly interrupted peace to Europe?” How? Nothing can be more erroneous than this assertion and belief. The long reign of comparative peace was primarily the fruit of that general exhaustion of Europe, consequent upon so protracted a struggle with the aggressive principle of the French Revolution—and to that more partial treaty that established the Holy Alliance for regulating the condition of the Continent. Nations cannot exist in a state of perpetual warfare. They must have intervals of repose. Agglomerations of men are subject to the same natural laws as the individual man. There could *not* be another general European war during that period. It was necessity

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that kept the peace, in the absence of any active aggressive principle to provoke another general combination. There was no real vitality in the Treaty of Vienna. It had not even a dormant power. It was simply an act of pacification, restoring some temporary regularity where there had been general disturbance. This was so well understood, that certain powers formed themselves into a general European police, under the title of Holy Alliance, for securing that regularity in their peculiar way, and for their peculiar interests, as opposed to the workings of that breath of Freedom which had mixed itself up with the atmosphere of the Nations. The Treaty of Vienna has been the most flexible and accommodating instrument. It has been always magnified and considered binding, where there was no force or desire to violate its provisions: it has been made to adapt itself to altered circumstances, wherever an insistance upon its

provisions would have been attended with danger to the general peace. The few rags of it that now subsist, cannot be expected to enfold a puissance that was wanting in it when it was entire. It was like all other treaties the world has known, valid until interest and power wanted to break it. In this sense, and examining history as regards them, all treaties may be said to be agreements defining a position, so long as that position exists unaltered. For any other purpose they seem to have been practically useless. Where real or fancied interest will impel nations to act together, there needs no treaty to say that they shall do so; but only to define the relative position of each in the conjoint action. If the aggressive principle had been as strong in 1830, under Louis Philippe, as it was under the first Revolution, and when it became embodied in Buonapartism, the treaty of Vienna would not have prevented the absorption of Belgium and the

Rhenish provinces. But France had not then recovered as she now has from her great exhaustion, and Orleanism had a spurious sort of legitimacy about it. It differed widely from Buonapartism; it commenced its existence with Constitutional fetters round its legs; and was never suffered to run alone, until it ran away altogether.

But amended by the Holy Alliance compact, so far as the parties thereto, and those more immediately accessible to their military influence, were concerned, it became effective in the hands of the High Police then established. If Buonapartism had been the embodiment of the Aggressive principle, the Holy Alliance compact was the embodiment of the Repressive principle of the old legitimacies and their despotic theories. It regulated the maximum of concession a Sovereign should make to his oppressed subjects; it was ready to assist him in confiscating their rights, and resuming any so-called privileges he might

have granted—for in their theory subjects have no rights; and everything but the breath in their bodies, they owe to the munificence of their masters, upon whom no promises or engagements made at a time of need are binding, so soon as the power to repudiate them with impunity can be attained; and this impunity the Holy Alliance iniquitously bestowed and guaranteed. The Spanish people, who had so nobly struggled for the national freedom when deserted by their sovereign, and who, assisted by Great Britain, had, after years of bloody conflict, freed their soil from every invader, were not allowed to impose any restrictions upon the sacred will of the humane and holy Ferdinand, whom no vows or promises to his subjects could bind. The High Police of Spain was deputed by the Holy Alliance to France, partly because of proximity, partly because of family ties. The armies of France were marched into Spain to assist the beloved Ferdinand,

who was enabled by their means to free himself from every limitation, and wash out the record of his promises with the blood of those who dared to demand their fulfilment. It was not the Treaty of Vienna but the exhaustion of war, and a gradual encroachment of the influence of wealth upon that of principle, that induced Great Britain to allow this atrocity to be perpetrated. The High Police of Italy was entrusted to the willing hands of Austria. How efficiently she performed the duties of this noble charge, the blood and chains, the tortures and humiliation of thousands of noble martyrs of its petty tyrants, its popes, its kings, and its reigning dukes abundantly testify. Nor are the records of Spielberg less eloquent. Russia condescended to awe Northern Germany into tame submission. The Treaty of Vienna, if it had really possessed the efficiency so often claimed for it, would have laid Europe under the eternal obligation of having inau-

gured and secured a *delicious* peace ! The horrors committed in Paris and throughout France by the unbridled and maddened populace during the Reign of Terror, called down the execrations of Europe upon the perpetrators. But it may be fairly questioned whether those enacted under the sanction and influence of the High Police of the Holy Alliance were fewer in number or less repulsive to those who look upon Emperors and Kings as responsible both to God and man. And it is not too much to say that if the Aggressive principle had been in adequate vigour, had found an efficient embodiment, and had flooded forth and swept those monarchs and their thrones away into hopeless perdition, it could only have been regarded as a just and righteous retribution for their vile perfidy, their base ingratitude, and their infamous barbarity.

The enormous sacrifices made by Great

Britain during that protracted struggle ending in 1815, were severely felt after the peace. There was also a growing conviction that by active interference in Continental wars she sacrificed very unwisely many of the great and peculiar advantages secured to her by her insular position and her maritime superiority. Wealth became daily more important in her eyes. She was not therefore disposed to do much. She remonstrated from time to time: With a French intervention in Spain, she considered it her duty to acknowledge the independence of the Spanish American Colonies. She sent a small force to Lisbon to prevent any Holy Alliance action in Portugal. And she was, as she had so long been, a secure place of refuge to which the oppressed might flee. This was a very moderate exercise, alas, of influence and power. But though small, there can be no doubt it was of incalculable

advantage to Europe, and prevented many excesses of arbitrary power, that would, but for her, have increased the catalogue of its crimes.

CHAPTER IV.

WHILE the Repressive principle, embodied in the Holy Alliance, was thus grinding the chief part of the Continent of Europe under the iron heel of irresponsible Despotism, the public conscience became troubled and unquiet because of the excesses committed by an infidel state in its application of the same repressive principle to a portion of its Christian subjects. The classic land of Greece, that had so long groaned under the bloody tyranny of the Turk, was struggling to throw off the yoke. Whether the impulse was self germinated—for at least a vague desire of freedom, the seed of possible future liberty, exists everywhere,—or whether the impulse was from without, is of little moment; but

the Turkish Government seemed determined to extirpate it by complete annihilation if it could not otherwise succeed. Hellenic Committees in France, in England, and elsewhere procured financial and other aid. A joint naval interference of Great Britain, France and Russia, was at last resolved upon, to prevent the introduction of a large Turkish force that was preparing to effect the re-subjugation of the country. The first real blow was now given to the Turkish power. The combined fleets destroyed that of Turkey in the bay of Navarino. Greece was soon declared independent, and supplied with a sovereign from one of the German states.

The hero of Waterloo characterized that naval victory as an "untoward event." It was understood that the policy of England as regards the east of Europe had undergone no change. Yet she became the chief instrument, for without her it could not have been then accomplished, in destroying the

CONTRADICTORY INTERVENTIONS. 27

great arm of Turkish power against the encroachments of Russia. It was what Russia unassisted had never been able to achieve. It was now done for her — with just as much co-operation on her part, as would give her the prestige on the shores of the Black Sea, of having herself performed it.

A fragment of the old Greek Empire thus became a kingdom of Greece, and was added to the European family of States. She was placed under the protectorate of the great powers, by which her continued existence was secured at least as against the Turk, whose relinquishment was final.

No purpose could be served here by more than a brief allusion to this important event. For the same reason a mere passing notice was taken of the constitutional struggle in Spain, and the insurrections of Italy. It is sufficient to point out, that authority was supported in Spain and Italy by interventions in its behalf; while in Greece insurrection

was supported by intervention against authority.

The absolute necessity of peace felt by all the States of Europe, and other growing influences, was introducing a confused and unintelligible policy—the policy of circumstance. The advantage obtained by Russia in the destruction of the Turkish fleet was soon made manifest. Her armies penetrated to within a short distance of the Turkish capital. But a treaty was signed, and peace again restored in that quarter.

The African States, Tunis, Algiers, Morocco, whose subjection to the Ottoman Porte was merely nominal, although they served to make the Mahometan Empire more formidable, had long outraged public feeling in Europe by their piratical system, which rendered the navigation of that part of the Mediterranean and of the Atlantic coast insecure to the subjects of the great Christian powers, whose property was frequently

captured, the crews and others taken in the vessels being held and treated as slaves until redeemed. It seems almost incredible now that such insults and wrongs from the petty tyrants of that coast should have been submitted to. Occasional chastisement had been inflicted, when emboldened by a long impunity, their excesses became too serious to be passed over. The bombardment of Algiers by Lord Exmouth had partially restrained their ferocity and greed ; yet there they remained, a paltry, stinging, puny, irreconcilable enemy to all civilized states. But with the waning of the Crescent at Navarino their fate was sealed. Insults so long submitted to, would no longer be endured.

By a movement of his fan against the representative of France, the Dey of Algiers called up a tempest that blew him from the seat of his power. The fleets and armies of France assailed his rocky fortress. They

obtained possession—and, they did what alone could put an end to the barbarous irregularities of the African coast — they kept it.

France had given such evident signs of uneasiness under the rule of the restored Bourbons, that England regarded this successful naval and military operation with satisfaction. France had been so highly fed with glory under the Empire, that a mixture of it with her ordinary food seemed indispensable. She regarded her restored Monarchs with contempt, for they were so small in her eyes when compared with the great Napoleon. They gave her also a sense of humiliation, because, although she was herself a party to their return, without which not all the combined forces of Europe could have procured it, the Restoration was the immediate result of a great military defeat; was ostensibly effected by the foreign armies that occupied for a time her capital

—her beloved Paris—and was made a condition of her reconciliation with outraged Europe. They were, therefore, an offence to her pride. The constitutional privileges she enjoyed under them, the comparative freedom of her press, and of her tribune, instead of reconciling her to them, were made instruments for perpetuating her dislike, and inoculating a new generation with the reminiscences of the unquestionable military superiority of the past. Her echoes repeated everywhere the songs of Beranger. Her sufferings under the constant drain of the great military conscription of the empire were lost to view in the blaze of glory that dazzled her sight while looking at it on the pages of its history. The obliteration of its emblems—the removal and prohibition of its victorious standards, were griefs that passing years did not diminish. It mattered not whether this proceeded from Bourbon hatred, or from concession to the

foreigner. But they were in the heart of the nation, and no power could pluck them thence or destroy them there. And it must be confessed this suppression of the emblems and standards of the Republic and the Empire was a lamentable and insulting error, quite sufficient in itself, among a vain and susceptible people, to overturn a throne and exclude a dynasty. It could not be regarded in any other light than as an assertion "La France c'est moi;" that it was so entirely the property of a family they would willingly annihilate the record of years precious in the eyes of national pride, because they had no part in the triumphs. It was a grievous error. And when to this was added the supremacy of the Jesuits in the state—that body odious to the great bulk of the people—that body the influence of which has been fatal to every ruling power that has cherished it, and finally, as was inevitable, given itself up to its direction—then

the cup of bitterness was full—and the blow that should sever the hand which held it insultingly to its lips, though it might be delayed, was certain ere long to fall with resistless strength.

England hoped the ray of glory obtained in this successful and useful enterprise would soothe the outraged vanity and pride of the nation, and give a prestige to the monarch. But if this result was desired, as is undoubtedly the case, there ought to have been a careful avoidance of anything that could neutralize or diminish the effect. Instead of an evident and declared reluctance to acknowledge the right of France to retain this conquest, there should have been a willing acquiescence, a ready and hearty assent. This wise counsel, for there were eminent public men who gave it, did not prevail. And France felt it. She knew that under the Empire, the news of the conquest would have been speedily followed by the publica-

tion of an Imperial decree, "Algiers and its territory, within limits that may hereafter be determined, are hereby declared to be indissolubly annexed to France." But instead of this Alexandrian mode of untying the knot, which would have brought some halo round the head of the hated Bourbon, she heard of diplomatic notes, and explanations and discussions. The fruit of the victory was blasted. France could conquer, but the Government that had been foisted upon her, and that repressed her energies, knew not how to retain. The powder was ready for the spark. And the match was near at hand.

CHAPTER V.

THE news of the Revolution of July 1830, rolled over Europe like the voice of a thunder cloud traversing its atmosphere in every direction. The tidings of its progress were awaited with breathless anxiety. If it be one of the striking peculiarities of France, as is asserted, to like to create a sensation, she had now reason to be proud of her effort. Monarchs and People—at Courts and in market-places — France — France — and its new Revolution were in every mouth. Because there was fighting in the streets of Paris, the enormous difference in the social condition of France when compared with 1789 was overlooked. There were no longer the vast estates of a licentious nobility to confiscate and divide; no church, convent

and abbey lands to indemnify the patriot, and compensate the people ; and it soon became evident that the nation would be satisfied with a vindication of its right to choose its sovereign, if no disposition was evinced by other Courts to reimpose that which in the exercise of its sovereign power it had ejected. The reign of that absolute monarch, *Le fait accompli*, was now about to commence—a monarch whose supremacy would soon be acknowledged in the councils of every state in Christendom. It was soon known that the astute head of the Orleans family, the chief of the younger branch of the Bourbons, whose efforts to achieve popularity in preparation for an event his sagacity could not fail of perceiving to be inevitable, were pretty generally understood, had been offered, and after a simulated reluctance, had accepted the throne that had been declared vacant. Louis Philippe, King of the French, had replaced Charles the Tenth,

King of France. No people comprehend the relative difference and value of words so thoroughly as our neighbours on the other side the Channel. This seemingly trifling difference in title, the importance attached to which was ridiculed in other countries, was full of significance for the French. The King of France represented the soil, the territory of the kingdom, claiming the right of dominion over all thereon. The King of the French was the visible embodiment of the Sovereignty of the People. And no sneer can destroy the enormous difference in the signification of these titles.

The many and great services rendered by England to the powers of the Continent makes her naturally the object of their especial jealousy and hate. It must be allowed that several of them, and particularly the most costly ones, have been of more than questionable advantage to her. But they were such as they desired. She never, how-

ever, rendered a greater and more indisputably important one, than in her speedy and unreserved acknowledgment of the new Sovereign. She struck thereby the key-note ; and all the instruments were attuned to it. She acknowledged the right of France to choose its king. It may be said it established a dangerous precedent, and its influence was indeed soon evident. But it cannot be supposed that the various European sovereigns were ignorant of its importance. They must have at once perceived that in acknowledging this right in the French people, they acknowledged it in all people, their own subjects included. It was an enormous European Revolution. And Great Britain effected it. They swallowed the implied general right, so diametrically opposed to that they each individually claimed, and so utterly irreconcilable with it. This act of hers has never had full justice done to it. It has not been generally comprehended. It was making a right

consecrated in her own institutions, the basis of the public Law of Europe. That Law, as admitted by every potentate, Pope or Czar, Emperor or King, Grand Duke, Duke or Prince, who recognized Louis Philippe—that Law now is, that the people of every country have an inalienable right to choose who shall reign over them. Its importance cannot be exaggerated. It would have been most inconsistent in Great Britain to have done otherwise. But a gross inconsistency would have been no novelty. The new French Revolution, except as it differed in certain unimportant details, was a facsimile of her own gloried in Revolution of 1688. But the Duke of Wellington does not the less deserve credit for that instantaneous and entire recognition, which, by shewing the Continental Powers that if they opposed the change they must do it not only without the co-operation of this country, but possibly in opposition to her, effected so great and

40 FRENCH REVOLUTION HARMLESS.

glorious a Revolution. The fact ought to be inscribed upon his monument in letters executed by the hands of representatives sent by the people from every State in Christendom.

Effected under the guidance and direction of the constitutionally elected representatives of the people, the new French Revolution, although it gratified a dynastic hatred, and vindicated the National Right as against Foreign interference, was essentially a constitutional Revolution. It did not therefore unfold the aggressive principle of a victorious democracy. It contained nothing menacing to the peace of Europe, beyond the influence of example. Nor even in this, from the moment of the implied recognition of the right of all peoples to choose their Sovereigns. The most it could effect would be to excite to disputes and conflicts between rulers and their subjects.

But it was an incomplete Revolution an

incomplete vindication of national rights and unfortunate in its choice of a Sovereign. As such the Government it established contained from the first moment the germs of dissolution. Nothing that violates the national sentiment can be permanent where the right of election in the people has been not only vindicated, but admitted and exercised. It is of no consequence that they have themselves permitted and voluntarily accepted that which inflicts the wound. If permanency be desired, they who preside over the counsels of the newly established Government, should diligently watch for, and eagerly avail themselves of the first opportunity for removing it. And if an opportunity does not offer, it should be created. The new monarchy of France was really the cotton umbrella monarchy; a thing of miserable and paltry expediency. The Tricolor had been hoisted in the streets of Paris during the conflict. It was therefore revived as the flag of the

French. To this extent the Republic and the glorious Empire were acknowledged and adopted. But where was the victorious Eagle. The Cock—le Coq Gallois, was substituted. As if the French people cared for the old Gallic emblem ; a people who but a few years before had ridiculed the English soldiery in Paris to the Air of the English National Anthem, as wearing the feathers of that domestic bird, stolen from the French fowl yards :

“ Ils portent des grands Chapeaux
Avec des plumasseaux
Qu'ils ont en vrais guerriers
Pris de nos poulardiers.”

If a policy of expediency was deemed necessary in the commencement to disarm all suspicion in Europe as to the revival of the aggressive element, there can be no excuse, save that culpable blindness which precedes destruction, for not restoring the Eagle when the ashes of Napoleon were received from

St. Helena, and conveyed with so much state to the Invalides for interment. A Government that either failed to perceive the opportunity, or to conceive the necessity of the measure, was not one likely to survive. It was occupied with its own schemes, its own designs, and did not study the hearts of those to whom it-owed its existence.

CHAPTER VI.

THE moderation in the councils of the absolute sovereigns that preserved the peace of Europe, instigating their immediate adoption of the policy of Great Britain, notwithstanding the hateful principle it established, as thenceforth part and parcel of the general law of Europe, was the fruit, not of the Treaty of Vienna, but of that exhaustion of which mention has been already made. It shows too how much more good England might have effected if she had been more boldly true to her inherent principle. Nor were the relations subsisting between them and their own subjects favourable to military enterprise on such a scale as a conflict with France would demand. Nothing short of such a violent irruption as might indicate a

revival of the former propaganda, or a renewal of the scheme of universal domination, would have caused them to take up arms in support of the Treaty of Vienna.

Their supposed determination to uphold this in its integrity was soon put to the test. Neither the Walloons, the Brabançons, nor the Flemings, but more especially the two former, were satisfied with their condition as united with Holland. The French Revolution, and the introduction of the new principle, gave the necessary stimulus to their discontent. The conflicts of Paris were imitated in Brussels. The country declared its independence. The Dutch troops were expelled. What was to be done? The Treaty of Vienna had united these countries to Holland. But if the French were justified in exercising their right, upon what principle could the people of Liège and Brussels be coerced? Should there be a prolonged conflict between Holland and these towns, the

French might interfere. The Treaty of Vienna must be modified. The independence of Belgium must be recognized. Holland, entrenched in the citadel of Antwerp, will not evacuate it and retire. She must be compelled ; and oh, mirabile dictu, such is the confidence as regards France, that she is to march in a corps d'armee, lay siege to Antwerp, and compel the obedience of the obstinate phlegmatic Dutch to the high behests of the Great Powers ! If there are intelligences of a higher order than human beings, who watch the course of events on this earth, what an exalted opinion they must entertain of a race that in 1823-4 sends a French army into Spain to fight for the Holy Alliance, and in 1831-2 into Belgium to fight for freedom and independence.

The work was accomplished ! They who guaranteed Belgium to Holland, now guarantee her to herself ! Of what value are such guarantees ? They are an insult to

common sense. The Treaty of Vienna was as fairly destroyed as if it had been blotted from the record. It was no longer to interfere with the convenience of the high contracting parties. They soon gave new proof of this. The Poles rose in insurrection. The Russian Government modified the Treaty of Vienna ! Cracow became troublesome. The Austrian Government modified the Treaty of Vienna ! Great Britain by her own act and by the acts of others, became as completely free from the obligations of that Treaty as if it had never existed. When a treaty undergoes successive infringements, and those infringements are sanctioned or tolerated, it is virtually defunct. It is worth no more than any other piece of waste paper in the official refuse basket. It has served its purpose, — it is with the dishonoured dead.

The fermentation always visible since 1815, with its boasted settlement, now increased everywhere. The principles of absolute

government had received a great shock by the revolution in France. They could no longer be supported except in the great centres of their power, and in those states which, by close proximity, were under their immediate influence and control. Italy being in this unhappy position, they were successfully enforced there by the support of Austria, whose brutal weight was ever ready to repress any desire for the smallest modification of the tyrannies under which it writhed and groaned.

In Spain, the beloved Ferdinand, summoned by death to the vaults of the Escorial, abrogating the Salic Law of the Bourbons, and restoring the ancient usage of Castile and Aragon, bequeathed his throne to his infant daughter, to the exclusion of his brother Charles, who had always regarded it as his lawful inheritance. But to give this validity it was necessary to summon the constituent Cortes of the kingdom, to swear

allegiance to the Infanta. And the doom of absolutism was sealed. The title granted by the Cortes could not be supported against the absolute party represented by Don Carlos without the co-operation of popular representation. Spain received a constitution. Dom Pedro, the Emperor of Brazil, wrested the crown of Portugal from his brother, Dom Miguel, for his daughter, Doña Maria. Portugal obtained her constitution also. The western powers, France and England, prevented any interference by the great absolute ones against these changes. The whole of Western Europe was thus composed of states more or less free—more or less favourable to human development and progress. England, France, Holland, Belgium, Spain and Portugal, presented a striking contrast to Prussia, Russia, Austria and Italy.

The Ottoman Empire, that had received so severe a blow in the destruction of its

fleet at Navarino ; in the absolute separation of Greece from its dominions ; in the victorious march of the Russian troops to within a short distance of its capital, had now to sustain another not less serious in the virtual severance of Egypt. Mehemet Ali made himself supreme there ; and although acknowledging the Porte as his sovereign, it was a mere nominal dependence. England, France, and all the other powers acquiesced in this arrangement. There was no sympathy for Christians as against Turks in this. It was the new sovereign *Le fait accompli* issuing his edict, and it was received everywhere with respect.

Not only had the Ottoman empire to sustain this new loss, but great changes were taking place in her internal organization. Following the example of Mehemet Ali in the destruction of the Mamelukes, without which he could not have established his independence in Egypt, the Sultan rid himself

of the turbulent and fanatical corps of Janissaries, the last representatives of that powerful military organization, in which fanaticism supplied the place of discipline, and under which the Turkoman hordes overturned the Greek empire, and became the terror of Europe. It was evident to every thinking observer that in thus destroying the last remnant of the ancient effective organized fanaticism that placed the Turk in Constantinople, supported him there, and carried him victorious to the gates of Vienna, the last spark of the real vitality of the empire was extinguished. The corps of Janissaries was a nucleus round which the aroused fanaticism of the people might at any time form; that fanaticism which had been the aggressive and conquering principle was to be henceforth no longer present in the Turkish armies, which were to receive an imitation of the new European military discipline. In freeing himself from the often dangerous

services of the old body guard of the sovereign, the Sultan had virtually decreed the extinction of the Turkish Empire, merely omitting the date at which this was to be finally accomplished.

It will be necessary to call attention to the admirable consistency!! of the British policy as regards Turkey. Some reference must therefore be made to the British naval expedition to the coast of Syria in 1840. But here, it will suffice to say, that she by it succeeded in preventing the annexation of Syria to Egypt, and that her views and operations were not the same as those of, and were not approved by the French government, which seemed to regard the extension of Egyptian influence with particular favour.

CHAPTER VII.

LOUIS-PHILIPPE undoubtedly believed that when he deposited the ashes of Napoleon in the vault of the Invalides, the Empire and Buonapartism were finally and for ever interred. The futile attempt at Strasbourg made by the present Emperor, seemed to justify this belief. And had he vigorously espoused the national interests, and cultivated the heart of the people, instead of devoting his undoubted abilities to the pursuit of Dynastic objects,—now wounding the public mind by transparent insults to its understanding,—now by petty intrigues for family purposes, with which there could be no public sympathy, it is possible that Buonapartism would never have reappeared in France. But although he walked the streets of Paris

soon after his accession to the throne, with his cotton umbrella under his arm, he always distrusted the French people. The acquisition of the fortune of the Duc de Bourbon for one of his sons, and the mode in which it was supposed to have been accomplished damaged his reputation. The supposed remittance of large sums for investment abroad, with which he was always charged, and which was universally believed in France, with the object of making provision against an ejection, could not fail of doing great injury. If he did not himself believe in the stability of his Throne, he must have perceived that there was something in his person, family and government incompatible with the interests and irreconcilable with the affections of the Nation. In obtaining the vote of the Chambers for the fortification of Paris, he injured the national sentiment, without succeeding in concealing his growing distrust. The national pride was deeply wounded, at

this confession before all nations of the supposed possibility of another advance of hostile forces to the gates of Paris ; a possibility in which the people, and most justly, did not believe : while the stinging sarcasm of the Russian Ambassador, so clearly imputing the idea, not to a provision against foreign invasion, but against Parisian insurrection,—a sarcasm that ran like lightning through the country, found ready credence, and was far from inspiring love ! Distrust begets dislike, or if it already existed, increases it. Prince Louis Napoleon, undeterred by the Strasbourg fiasco, and not clearly comprehending then what Buonapartism is, with the conditions under which alone it could be resuscitated in France, thought the contempt felt for the government gave him a chance of success. But notwithstanding the accompaniment of a real live eagle, the debarkation at Boulogne was immediately succeeded by incarceration in the fortress of Ham.

There can be no doubt the non-manifestation of any public sympathy for the unsuccessful Prince, or of any surviving affection for the family of which he was now the representative, produced in Louis-Philippe a belief that nothing was now cared for in France but tranquillity and progress. He therefore pursued with greater boldness his dynastic and family projects. But above all, he was unceasing in his efforts to bring the constitution into such contempt, as might enable him speedily to get rid of all that it contained embarrassing to a government that had never frankly accepted it; but only submitted to it as a condition inseparable from the title by which he held the throne. The decoration of the Legion of Honour was completely prostituted to Parliamentary and Electoral uses. Worn by nearly all the Government phalanx in the Chambers, and by more than three-fourths of the electors of Lisieux, it became contemptible in

the public eye. But its former glories were not obliterated by its present degradation. And while the country scoffed at the desecrated emblem, they hated the hand that had thus dragged it in the mire of the Electoral Colleges, in which so small a portion of the people had the good fortune to be inscribed.

The contempt into which the Constitution fell was not mitigated by any reminiscences of former glories. It was complete. The liberty of the Press was prized, to a certain extent, though English observers could not fail to remark that the addition of a feuilleton seemed almost indispensable to the success of newspapers. Consequently, there could be no absorbing interest felt in what represents the life of a constitutionally free state. But there seems to have been a profound ignorance among all parties as to the real political feelings of the nation. The talented leaders of the opposition in the

Chambers evidently believed they were the real representatives of the popular feeling. And so they were, in so far as they were opponents of the Government, and vehement in their denunciation, and abuse of its corruptions and principles. But no farther. The people at large had no political belief—no political attachment—no political faith. The scepticism that prevailed as regards religion, was equally in the ascendant as regards political parties. If they were at all attached to free Press, that did not make any attachment to a Constitution by which alone its enjoyment can be guaranteed. There was strong infiltration of Socialism. And the pure Republican party had never become extinct. This, and the Legitimist were the only real parties; the only sections of the community that had any vital belief; and these were sure to be found acting together against what they both hated and despised, however widely their ideas might

differ as to what ought to succeed it. A French party would scorn to postpone all destructive action, until it felt a certainty of being able to reconstruct upon its own principles. That would be unworthy of French genius. Any common-place people could do that. Destroy, and take the chance of what may turn up in the *melée*, is the favourite Parisian axiom, and is worthy the genius of a great nation, that is incapable of a doubt as to the grandeur of its destinies.

In saying there was no vital belief, except the Republican and Legitimist, party belief was of course implied. For there was, is, and ever will be one great pervading popular belief—to which nearly every individual in the country professes allegiance, and feels a profound attachment: “*The Sovereignty of the People.*” Even the Legitimists, at least by far the greater portion of them, are not exceptions. The Bourbons are their protégées, that is all. And “*Le Souve-*

rainté du Peuple" was as deeply wounded by the mode in which Louis Philippe obtained the throne, as by that in which the Bourbons obtained it. In neither case was it their gift. To the one it was given by the Foreigner ; to the other, by the Leaders of the Chamber of Deputies. The Crown had been filched from the victorious hands of the people who had chased the Foreign Nominee, and placed hastily upon the head of the princely favourite of the Opposition Deputies. He might have amended his title by securing their attachment. This he never succeeded in effecting. There was in his own belief, and in the popular appreciation, a bastard halo of legitimacy around his throne. He succeeded, as the head of the younger branch of the Bourbons, on the deposition and exclusion of the elder. This family transfer should have had a peculiar and deliberate sanction of the people, to do homage to the principle of their sovereignty. The voice of such a

despised body as the Chambers of Deputies was no such sanction. Is it strange, that an accident, should be made an occasion of re-asserting their violated and cherished right?

CHAPTER VIII.

THE accident occurred, as accidents will, when they are wanted, and the occasion is favourable. As in 1830, so in 1848, the opposition deputies succeeded in getting up a certain exhibition of popular excitement in Paris. They, no doubt, believed the excitement was quite in a constitutional sense, to obtain the transfer of the ministerial powers to their hands, and through them, an extension of the electoral privilege. But as in 1830, it was the Republican party that responded to their call, assisted now by the Legitimist. The occasion was favourable for an accident. A crowd pressed too closely upon one of the military posts—a report was heard—one of the people had fallen! To form a procession with the body

—the victim of brutal power—and pass with it amid the glare of torches through the most easily excited portion of the city, was of course a natural and happy impromptu idea. “*Aux Armes ! Aux Armes !*” The cry was responded to. Streets were barricaded. The conflict commenced. The Ministry resigned. The Leaders of the Opposition were appointed. Bah ! who cared for them ? The insurrection became general. The King with all his family, generals, admirals, and colonels were in flight. It was a regular *sauve qui peut*. All ? No. There was one brave and noble exception—a woman—a stranger : the widow of the eldest son, who with her child awaited a decision in his favour. Honour to the Duchess d’Orleans ! But the storm was not one for a child or a woman to calm. The armed Republicans dominated the Chambers. Monarchy was at a discount. The nation resumed its right. In thus resuming its right there could be but one course open at the moment. It

could acknowledge no assumed or presumed right, co-existent with its own. It proclaimed the Republic !

So recent an event—an event that has been so much discussed, demands no statement of particulars, and requires little comment. Every one knows how the persuasive eloquence of Lamartine calmed the public excitement; and how, finding no opposition from without, it occupied itself in a species of orderly disorder within. Then much was owing again to Great Britain. She had no hesitation in acknowledging the Republic. Having admitted the right of the nation to choose its king, she had no reasonable objection to oppose if it chose to do without a king, and administer the government itself—so that it formed some government she could pay her respects to, and exchange courtesies, and assurances of reciprocal regard with. This was done. The Republic was “*Un fait accompli.*” She recognized it. It was recognized by all.

Chartism was not dead in England. The Revolution in Paris had some reverberation here. There was talk of a great public disturbance. Many thousand special constables were sworn, to keep the peace. Among these, having offered his services in the cause of order, was *Prince Louis Napoleon Buonaparte*, some time prisoner in the fortress of Ham, for a breach of the Customs Laws in endeavouring to smuggle a tame eagle into France, but who had with great ingenuity, coolness, and daring effected his escape, and succeeded in reaching England. The disturbance, if any was ever thought of, did not occur. Public tranquillity was preserved.

Not so in the continental states. Berlin had its insurrection, and popular disturbances in all parts of the country. Vienna had its insurrection. The petty despotisms of Italy were shaken. Rome followed the march of events. Only the great Colossus

of the North remained unmoved. The great disturber of Europe had spoken, and multitudinous echoes repeated her words in furious joy. The long repressed, and slumbering popular element, rose, and shook itself; opened its eyes and stared about it, made some few trials of its strength, and seated itself almost everywhere beside its hitherto so dignified, but now trembling masters. All honour to it! Wonderful was its forbearance, considering the treatment it had received. Betrayed, insulted, reviled, deceived, denounced as a monster that could only be restrained by heavy chains, which could not even be lightened without the almost certainty of devouring everything within its reach; kept, therefore, in constant humiliating and painful durance and restraint—and goaded, while bound, with all the little irritating darts the mind of tyranny is so fertile in devising, it satisfied itself by a very moderate assertion of its unjustly

confiscated rights, and consented to live at peace with its tormentors on obtaining guarantees that should secure it from the liability of being again subjected to those delicious atrocities, and devices, in experiments with which it had been the suffering victim. It is not a matter of surprise that its moderation and forbearance made its victories in many places most incomplete, the guarantees it received worthless, and its ruin at the first convenient opportunity certain. It has been the same in all ages. No faith can safely be reposed in tyrants. They have an inherent organic vice, that only very sharp treatment, and a very powerful curb can restrain. Generosity is a stranger to their nature. They are so completely demoralized by the exercise of irresponsible power, that no guarantees can bind them, save such as they are divested of all power to break. They have an innate ferocity that cannot be tamed. Like the tiger who has once lapped

blood and tasted flesh, nothing short of what they consider nature intended for them, when it created their exceptional organization and especial appetites, will satisfy them. To deprive them of this or any portion of it, is an offence, an injury they never pardon, and which they watch eagerly for an opportunity to avenge. Every restraint that may have been placed upon them, however moderate, is a violation of the Divine right prerogative, and they as the representatives of Deity on earth are bound to visit the authors of it with their displeasure, and resume their uncontrolled and irresponsible power. And this has been the more easily effected, because unhappily, the popular element has never been able on the Continent of Europe to free itself from a false view adopted at the great French Revolution. It is too much inclined to perpetuate in its own hands the great and little tormenting engines of repression that have

been employed by those who had hitherto held unlimited sway over it. It is very desirous of freedom, but unless where it bursts forth in a tumult of intoxication it is afraid of itself, and every thing, around it. It does not comprehend that very first condition of perfect freedom, that entire personal liberty which secures the individual from any interference by the constituted authorities, unless he has committed, or there is reasonable ground to believe he has committed, crime. And until the populations of the Continent became imbued with this true sense of personal dignity, they have no security in any liberties they may achieve.

CHAPTER IX.

MANY, certainly, and it is to be presumed almost all public men in England saw immediately the perpetuated vice in the new French Republic, and lost all faith in it. The popular element had dethroned a Sovereign ; it had allowed him and his family to steal out of the country ; it had committed some few excesses in the Royal palaces ; had constituted itself as Republic, but had most jealously continued and vested in itself as Republic, every abuse, and every undue check on individual liberty that had come down from the ancient Regime, through the great Republic, the Empire, and the Restoration, to the last expelled Monarchy. There must be a note made

in the private journals of many of our statesmen early in March, 1848.

“The Revolution has suffered itself to be brought in subjection by Lamartine. It has placed itself in subordination to the military element; there seems to be no idea of abolishing the passport system, or the octroi duties. The people do not understand the first principles of liberty. The end will be, a military despotism.”

The real revolutionary element was satisfied with being but very feebly and imperfectly represented in the new government. It deceived itself as to its strength, and believed it could at any time assume the dictatorship. It fell into the grievous error of regarding a large well organised Military Force, over a fraction of which it had triumphed, as henceforth subordinate to it. Instead of revolutionizing the army it left that great engine of repression, suffering too under the humiliation of its defeat in the

late conflict, at the command of the new government. From the moment the aggressive principle, which had not found any efficient chief, allowed itself to be talked into inaction by the seductive poetry of Lamartine, the fate of the Republic was sealed. Who can doubt, after that brilliant oratorical episode, that the tale of Orpheus had its foundation in fact. The subversion of the Republic was only a question of time, and the Man. The army was no longer an unwilling instrument in the hands of a Monarch, respecting whom it shared in the general opinion, and who did not in the hour of danger even pay it the compliment of confiding his safety to its keeping. It was in the service and at the command of a Government, that was supposed at least to have emanated from, and to represent the people. If its action then should be demanded by its chiefs, for repression of the revolutionary element in its desire to regain by force the

power out of which it had been seduced, there was no doubt of its hearty co-operation. It would be fighting for the nation, in the popular cause, represented by a chief in whom it had confidence, against a section at whose hands it had suffered some humiliation. Wherever a large organized force, that does not emanate from the Revolution itself, is retained under such circumstances the result is certain. The aggressive principle may be as strong in that army as in the violent section it is ordered to combat for the preservation of internal order, but it will make itself dominant. It will not submit to a non-professional copartnership. If it consent to act with a citizen force, it is because it has been made semi-professional, is subject to a certain degree of military regulation, and relieves it of some of its most tedious routine duties. But even then there is never any perfect sympathy.

After the Poet statesman had mesmerized

the revolutionary element, and thus reduced the aggressive principle to temporary inaction, nothing could appear more unmeaning and unproductive than the Revolution itself. The constituted Government represented a chaos of heterogeneous ideas, out of which it seemed an almost hopeless task to attempt evoking form and order; and nothing but the insurging of the revolutionary element that perceived it was being talked out of the entire fruit of its victory, saved the Republic from contempt. What fights and conquests may be disliked, but is not despised. General Cavaignac, a true republican, not a revolutionist, effected this. The victory of the troops was decisive. The revolutionary element was put under restraint. The army had become a necessary part of the government. From that position to one of virtual supremacy the step is easy. As already observed it was only a question of Time, and the Man.

And the Time and the Man were at hand. The elections for the Constituent Assembly were ordered. Among the names of the elected, was that of Prince Louis Napoleon Buonaparte, the hero of Strasbourg and Boulogne, the prisoner of the fortress of Ham, the exile in England. He is not here called the hero of Strasbourg and of Boulogne in derision. Events have established beyond all possibility of dispute, that in those attempts to obtain a throne, the boldness of which could never be denied, even when the attempts were ridiculed, the Prince erred, not in his estimate of the possibility of resuscitating Buonapartism in France, but only in that of the conditions under which alone, such a resuscitation was possible. The success that has crowned his efforts when made under those conditions, is sufficient to prove that his estimate of the existence of the dormant element was correct; and that the opinion of the great mass of the world who

ridiculed his pretensions because they maintained there was no such element, was erroneous in the extreme.

It must have been already seen that the brief recapitulation of events since 1815, has only been introduced to prepare the way for the advent of this remarkable personage upon the highest stage of public events, and for a full appreciation of the position of affairs in Europe, without which the difficulties of the present situation could not be fully exposed. He seems to have been the centre round which the interests and passions of this important quarter of the world have been constantly turning during the past eight years. And the circular race is now more active than ever. The impulse has in many instances been communicated by him; and the views and decisions of his so-called inscrutable mind, are sought and waited for as indispensable to be known and understood, fore even the most subtle intelligences, and

the most experienced statesmen, can venture to hazard a prediction as to the final solution of any of the complicated difficulties of that state of transition, in which so many European States now find themselves engaged.

CHAPTER X.

ELECTED to the Assembly, Citizen Prince Louis Napoleon Buonaparte, claimed the revocation of all decrees exiling the distinguished family to which he belonged from the soil of France; and to be allowed to take his seat among the representatives of the people. His presence or absence was considered so little important; the non-success of his attempts in producing the slightest demonstration in his favour, was deemed so conclusive; the ridicule that had attached to those failures seemed to have been so damning,—and, it may be now said without offence, he was thought to be so insignificant, so devoid of all those peculiarities that are expected to be visible in a man likely to achieve eminence,—that his demand encountered very trifling opposition, and was acceded to.

So little presage was there of the future, there need be no fear of error in stating, none saw in that individual who advanced to take the oath of fidelity to it, the death of that Republic to which he was indebted for his return to France. The ages of auguries and portents have passed away—or these are not of a character to attract notice, or to be understood. In those ages, trees of liberty would have withered at his approach, statues would have been prostrate, an indefinable sensation felt in the Assembly, and there would have been hosts of presages collected after their supposed realization. Instead of which, all that can be recorded of a fact so pregnant with events for France and Europe is, that Citizen Prince Louis Napoleon Buonaparte took the oath and his seat.

His course was quiet and unobtrusive. So is that of the white ants, who under the tropics, consume the substance of a building

without external evidence of their ravages. Not that the Republic had much substance to consume. It was an accident, born of an accident. It was full of undeveloped, inadequately represented, unembodied elements. Excepting the influence of poetic eloquence, unsupported by any administrative ability, and the straightforward honesty and fidelity to principle of a soldier who had no capacity for government, it had exhibited little but egotism. That seemed to flourish. The soil was favourable,—every necessary influence was there to promote its growth. What wonder then that a superior egotism was silently spreading its roots and strengthening its stem, withdrawing from those meaner specimens the perpetuating sap, concentrating it in itself, making them support and nourish, and advance it, until it could attain such a development that they must necessarily perish under the shadow of its luxuriant foliage. It came of a stock so vigorous,

that in its day it had thrown a consuming shade over all Europe; evidence of its vitality in this scion was not wanting, had not men been under the influence of a species of judicial blindness: it was planted now in the same soil and among the same favouring influences that had fostered the growth of the parent trunk, and yet none believed it to possess any dormant undeveloped power, that circumstances and position might rouse into activity and vigour.

In order to impart something like firmness and stability to the government and administration, a President for four years was to be elected as Chief of the State.

Among the candidates appeared Prince Louis Napoleon Buonaparte.

No one could pronounce it unreasonable, that the nephew, and lineal representative of the great Emperor, should solicit the suffrages of the people for placing him temporarily at the head of the Republic. Had

he asked them to make him Emperor, he would have been hooted out of the country; but, President of the Republic—oh, that was quite another thing. The people began of course to examine the claims of the respective candidates. The candidature that was at first received with a smile of almost derision, soon began quietly to make its way. It would have been said that Lamartine, to whom the prevention of something like anarchy had been attributed, possessed preferential claims. But, added to the sense of his evident deficiency in administrative talent, there was a dissatisfaction at the turn he had given to the Revolution. True, he had possibly prevented much disorder by the repressive influence his eloquence so strongly exercised. But the effects produced in the other European States by the French events having demonstrated that there had never been any possibility of a combined attack on France, there grew up a pervading senti-

ment that he had dwarfed the Revolution—that he had depressed its useful energies—had prevented its exercising any foreign influence beyond that of example and encouragement; and had therefore made that stunted, mean, and insignificant, which might have been grand, noble, and powerful. National vanity suffered more than private interests rejoiced. The wound to the former was absolute: the danger to the latter now seemed to have been merely problematical. National gratitude is said to look rather toward benefits to be derived, than to be motivated by those already received.

There were none looming in the future of Lamartine. To employ the expressive phraseology of this material age, he was already "*used up*." The more he was now examined the smaller he appeared. And in the eyes of the people, something seemed necessary to restore the dignity of the Republic, that was not to be found in the Poet Statesman.

General Cavaignac had enforced order. But he had thereby incurred the unmitigated hatred of the revolutionary element. In himself he represented nothing but pure Republicanism, which merely as a principle of government had never been a popular idol. Had his political honesty been as flexible as that of most men, that is, had personal ambition and interest made it kick the beam when they were placed in the opposite scales, he might have assassinated the Republic in its own name by assuming the dictatorship. Destiny generally gives only one chance to its protégés. Cavaignac had missed his, being too honest to avail himself of it. She presented it to him on the point of the sword. He refused to take it with the brand of perjury and the stain of blood. He asked her for it from the urn. But she had turned over the leaf on which his name was inscribed, and had opened where one appeared, the owner of which, far from hav-

ing neglected his chance, had twice attempted to force one from her ; and who was not likely to be deterred by such paltry considerations from availing himself of it whenever it should come.

INFLUENCE OF IDEAS.

CHAPTER XII.

WHATEVER may be affirmed to the contrary by profound thinkers who have imperfectly studied men and things, the influence of an Idea, is often greater than the influence of a fact—aye—than that of twenty conjoined facts. Facts may be stubborn, but ideas are seductive. The one is tangible. It may be handled. It has limits. It has no power of expansion. It is cold. It appeals only to the reason. But an idea! the sublime offspring of a great fact. While brilliantly visible, it is impalpable. It eludes the grasp. It fills the atmosphere around. It has no circumscribing bounds. It is like one of the Genii released; it grows, it towers; it spreads. It is full of passion and fire. It appeals both to reason and imagination; though per-

haps only to the former as a justification of the astounding impulse, and unbridled license, it imparts to the latter. Yes, an idea, the legitimate issue of a great fact, at the same time an entity and nonentity—the one from its origin, the other from its spiritualistic attributes, may exercise a power and influence that no mere fact, or bundle of facts, can pretend to, or can control. Do you doubt this? Have you never seen this Genius of the lamp? Must evidence be produced in support of what ought to be an established article in men's belief? Read Gladstone on Finance. Examine his brilliant oratorical production on introducing his budget for 1860-1. Enquire into the influence it exercised. See to what that influence was owing. As a winning horse, it would be marked at Tattersall's, "Idea, by Gladstone, out of Free Trade."

Prince Louis Napoleon rode upon "Idea, by Glory, out of Empire, dam Republic,"

and it ere long became evident he would distance his competitors in the race. He was a Prince. That was something to a Nation, that had satisfied itself with the exercise of its prerogative in finishing off a dynasty. He was a Prince too whom they regarded as of their own manufacture; article, Paris. Idea, assumed many forms. Reminiscences of the Empire—a graceful tribute to the memory of the Great Napoleon—his uncle's nephew—one whom the despised Orleans had held in captivity—so unpretending, so harmless—think more of the Republic abroad. And while the candidature thus made its way in the minds of the people, many powerful motives and interests were co-operating for his success among the leaders of parties, the aspirants for the same office, and those who were under the influence of active and energetic politicians. The bitterness of their party hate was of inestimable advantage to him. He had con-

ducted himself so prudently, that though some began slightly to doubt whether he was quite the Incapable they had given him the credit of being, nothing could be discerned to justify any fear. He had taken no hold they believed of the mind of the Nation—they could get rid of him whenever they thought fit—rather him than their hated opponents. Like David in the cave of Adullam, to whom desperate fortunes submitted themselves, they who were satisfied of their own inability and that of their party to succeed, united to secure his success. The Church secretly adopted him ; the legitimists went with the Church ; and before the day of election arrived, the result was pretty clearly foreseen.

Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte was elected President for the term of four years. He took the oath of fidelity, and of renunciation of power at the expiration of his term of office, and was duly installed. So

great was his majority, that Idea may be said to have won in a canter.

And of course had he arrived at the end of that term without re-election, he would have fulfilled the condition of his oath ; and, so laden with debts he had contracted to sustain adequately the dignity of his high office, that he must necessarily expatriate himself from inability ever to discharge them, would have retired from place and power, satisfied in having served the beloved country, when disputing factions might have caused her serious inconvenience.

But this contingency never arrived. Destiny had confidence in him. She knew her man. She had gone to sleep with her finger firmly pressed upon the open leaf that bore his name. She had left his cause and his future in his own keeping, and felt so confident of the result, that she never once thought of turning over another page.

Need it be said in presence of his esta-

blished grandeur and eminence, that he merited her confidence? May it not rather be said that from the moment he placed his foot on the first of that flight of steps leading to the throne, he never faltered, never looked back, never stumbled. It may be doubted whether the world ever beheld a more judicious and perfect combination of caution and boldness, of insouciance, and of careful preparation, of sincerity and perfidy, than he exhibited for its future admiration. The true nature and character of Buonapartism had revealed itself to his mind. And in the full light of that revelation he advanced. It shone brilliantly round what might have appeared to be his darkest steps. Now indeed the trees of liberty planted in the early days of the Revolution began to wither. Some of them died because they could not help it; but more of them it was believed received help to do it. A great man has a natural inherent contempt for such puerilities; and

the only adequate mode of showing it was by their extirpation. The great Imperial Tree, that had begun to fix its roots securely in the soil, was the Upas to such frivolities. In his dealings with the legislature, that felt his shadow gradually extending over it and enveloping it, and whose members naturally desired to save themselves from political extinction; in his dealings with the army, which he cherished as the right arm of his future greatness, and which he gradually taught to look up to him as the only hope of a due appreciation of its merits, the only liberal source of honours, the only one who comprehended and would know how to gratify its ardent aspirations; in his dealings with the people, who were flattered by the greater consideration shown to the Republic abroad since he assumed the Presidency, and held his Court; who, united with this consideration, found their material interests advancing under a comparatively assured

order ; and were gradually brought to view the legislature as impeding his efforts for their advantage, by its interested jealousies of the power the people had bestowed upon him, and which they were plotting to prevent a renewal of ;—in the more than amicable, in the cordial relations he established with Foreign Governments, and particularly with that of Great Britain, whose lead of recognition in any contingency he knew by experience would necessarily be followed by that of others, he shewed that intimate knowledge of human nature, of the springs of action, of the importance of what smaller men would consider trifles ; that just appreciation of his position, that patient perseverance of preparation, that sinuous stealthiness of approach toward the object he desired to attain, which only a genius naturally Machiavellian, improved by study, by careful observation, by acute analysis, and by the mature and concentrated reflection for which

only such an imprisonment as that in the fortress of Ham would ever have afforded opportunity to one who was far from indifferent to the lighter pleasures of existence, could have displayed, for the admiration of mankind. Nothing like due justice has ever been done to those three years of presidential probation and preparation—so full of interest, so replete with instruction, so pregnant with events, so important as regarded the future of France, of Europe, and of Mankind.

CHAPTER XII.

THE Man of the open page of Destiny knew well, that no people ever voluntarily resigns, by its own impulse, any degree of constitutional freedom it may have acquired. The progress to it is so painful and difficult, that the fruit obtained cannot fail of being dear and precious. And however small the degree may be, its natural tendency is toward its own extension and development, not through a retrograde movement to its own annihilation. It may in its efforts to free itself from undue checks, and from the selfish antagonistic elements that obstruct its course, become sometimes wild and furious. Like vaulting ambition it may overleap itself. But it never voluntarily abdicates—it never woos Despotism to take

possession of it. It never says, "I resign my sceptre—accept it; annihilate me." Its subversion then, whatever the primary causes conducing to such a result, must be by means of a conspiracy, or conspirator, assisted by the military.

The new President, who now perfectly comprehended Buonapartism, and its means of action, soon furnished a proof that the aggressive principle, inseparable from military organization, and from a revolutionary movement, had found its embodiment in him. Any man placed in his position might have perceived, the necessity, if he desired to consolidate his power, of conciliating that principle, by opening to it some sphere of action. But only such a man as the present Emperor of the French, would, as President of a Republic, have conceived the idea of showing both to the army and to the revolution, by directing the former against a Republic, that so far from it being inseparable

from Republican Institutions, it might be opposed to them. In a word, that its real embodiment was in the line of the glorious Empire. It was a bold and masterly move; whether influenced by any compact that secured him the support of the Church in his election matters not. Nothing can be discovered or imagined that should justly detract from its wise daring, its importance—and its significance. A statesman of that day, on being asked, when the intelligence of the expedition arrived, what he thought about it, replied, “The Prince sends to secure the person of the Pope for his coronation.” And it seems difficult to conceive how any mind of ordinary capacity could fail to regard that intervention as a proclamation of a coming Empire. It was a denunciation of Republicanism; a formal renunciation of the Carbonari with whom he was reported to have been affiliated; it invigorated the army—recalled to it the

glories, promotions, and decorations of the Empire; it gratified, without any dangerous involvement to neutralize its effect, the repressed principle in the Revolution; it removed from France the more unquiet spirits of the army, and to a sphere of action that gratified them, not in a visible distrust that would have alienated them; it secured to him the influence of the Church. In a word, it united a heterogeneous mass of influence in his favour. And it was only distasteful to that violent Republican party, the inheritor of the spirit and traditions of the Sections of a former epoque, which there is no doubt he had already determined to treat to another 9th Brumaire, as the prelude to an extended term of Rule, a sort of Usher or Master of the Ceremonies to Imperial Dignity.

The success that attended the intervention which was made with a celerity and completeness that excited universal admiration—

the unctuous blessings of the restored Head of the Roman Catholic Church, who felt that deep political gratitude that a sense of the need of continued support inspired, brought prestige, and a great increase of strength to the Prince President. And without giving him credit for divining any of the complications that have since taken place in Italy, it indicated nevertheless a far-seeing policy. A continued occupation of Rome by a French force involving the necessary possession of Civita Vecchia, eliminated the Alpine barrier from the map of Europe. It placed France in power in the centre of the Peninsula, ready for any emergency. France and her Ruler, whatever his title, might not take advantage of it perhaps, but it gave to her and to him a preponderance in Italy always dear to French policy ; and a great augmentation of influence in Europe generally. It made Italy henceforth as accessible to France as to Austria ; thus neutralizing the

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influence of the latter, and threatening it with destruction, whenever such a result might be deemed advisable.

It is not only what was accomplished, but the way in which, and the conditions under which it took place, that are worthy of especial consideration, as affording some index to the mental characteristics of a man whom it is so important to Europe generally, and not less to Great Britain in particular, thoroughly to know. In proportion to the French desire for dominion or preponderating influence in Italy, a desire constantly manifested during centuries, whatever the form of Government in France, was the antagonistic feeling or sentiment of Europe that regarded such dominion or influence as dangerous to its peace and security. This jealousy with respect to French power in Italy, may be called the foundation stone on which the German supremacy in that country rested. It was not that other countries, and

Great Britain in especial, would not have preferred Italy entirely in the hands of the Italians, and exempt from all foreign influence; but that as this seemed to have become an universally admitted impossibility, it was infinitely to be preferred that Austria rather than France should exercise what must fall to the lot of one or other of them.

What so greatly adds therefore to the magnitude of Prince Louis Napoleon's achievement is, that by a prompt comprehension of what might be derived from taking advantage of circumstances that had not been created or provoked through any influence of his, he obtained the demand of the Pope for his assistance and protection, and effected this cherished object of French and Imperial ambition, not only without any opposition from the rest of Europe, but, Great Britain failing in her duty, either with its expressed or implied approval and consent. He did in fact make himself to be regarded

at the moment, so astounded were men at a Republican armed intervention to put down a Republic, and restore one of the most galling and arbitrary of Governments, as a man who in his love of order and hatred of revolution, was ready to sacrifice his own popularity in playing the rôle of a public benefactor in Europe. It is this prompt and rapid appreciation of circumstances and accidents; this immediate conception of the advantages that may be derived from a judicious employment of them, and the bold and unhesitating policy and action thenceforth resolved upon and pursued in furtherance of personal and national objects, with the entire absence of all restraining scruples when once that policy and action have been determined, that makes the Emperor of the French, the embodiment of the aggressive principle, and the sole disposer of the national power, so dangerous to the peace of Europe.

CHAPTER XIII.

"The coin shall bear the effigy of Prince Louis Napoleon Buonaparte, with his name surrounding it."

Elysée, 5 December, 1851.

OF the Representatives of the people in the Republican Legislature many of the most eminent had furthered or connived at the election of Prince Louis Napoleon as President, from motives to which allusion has been already made. But having soon perceived that it was not a harmless snake they had allowed to wriggle himself into power, but a Boa Constrictor, whose increasing muscular embrace was gradually pressing the life out of the Republic that he intended to swallow, and that they its real head, were so inconveniently near to its elastic jaws, they must necessarily take precedence in

fate. they were not unnaturally rather disquieted by their position. It became evident that "to be, or not to be," was the question at issue. Their desire of continuance was manifestly threatened by the similar desire in their President, who having tasted the cup of quasi Regal delights, had a determined objection to resign it to any less discriminating palate. They felt how repulsive was the process of deglutition to which they would be subject. And there can be no doubt they were guilty of the, by him unpardonable crime, of seeking to prevent the consolidation of his personal power. Buonapartism had revealed itself also to them. They saw the superiority its concentration of power in action, gave over the fluctuating alliance of contending and jealous interests. They comprehended that unless they could neutralize his growing energies, they had themselves involuntarily assisted in appointing in one and the same object the Executioner of the Republic and

its living grave. Let it be admitted then that they were guilty, in their desire to prevent the conjoint extinction of themselves and the Republic, of conspiring to prevent his re-election. It was a conspiracy within the limits of the constitution both he and they had sworn to respect; while his desire was beyond the limits of that constitution, and must necessarily prove fatal to it.

But Prince Louis Napoleon Buonaparte had too clear a view of the large leaf that Destiny had spread before him that he might fill it with the record of his exploits; and comprehended too well how glorious they might be made in the history of his race, of France, and of the world, not to have already determined—so far as in him lie, to fill those seductive pages even to the very smallest particle of their surface, before relentless Destiny should wake, and with her inexorable finger open another. In presence of such a determination, made invincible

by a sentiment of celestial permission or demoniacal appointment, what are oaths and limitations? what were representatives and principles, popular rights or legislative privileges? Mere tiny children's horn books and nine-pins, to be scattered and kicked aside by the hand and foot of the possessor of superior attributes. The warm, plump spirit hand * of a defunct Emperor pointed the way to personal ambition—to power—to glory. The Corsican character had suffered no attaint in him. He could wait, long and patiently, and secretly for his vendetta,† for he had many fancied injuries to avenge; could prepare in darkness and seclusion, every necessary instrument, and strike a blow stealthy, rapid, and secure.

On the 1st of December 1851, all was ready—on the 2nd of December 1851, all was accomplished; and the inheritor of im-

* Vide the "Times" of May, 1860.

† Vengeance or Revenge.

perial reminiscences, standing with one foot upon the slaughtered national representation, the other upon an already subjugated Press, and holding in his hand the blood-stained instrument of military destruction, demanded of the people that assent it was no longer in a condition to refuse. A powerful army had already given sanguinary evidence of its determination in his favour. And that no eyes might fancy they beheld a monster of perjury, and fraud, and murder standing at his side, and sheltering itself beneath his robes of new dignity, the Prince dressed up a hideous and appalling figure of triumphant Socialism ; pointed to it as that which he had destroyed ; deplored of course the stern necessity under which he had been placed as their elected head, and the temporary depository of their sovereign power, to do battle in their behalf with that repellant object, who, if he could have succeeded, would have proved ten thousandfold

worse than the dreadful dragon slain by the immortal Saint George. And whether the friends of order were indeed so appalled by what was thus presented to their view by so high an authority, and confirmed by his disinterested evidence, that they hit upon the ingenious device of multiplying each his name, believing in a proportionate increase of strength, or that they were determined to reassure his troubled mind, and convince him, that though they were grateful and would give him all he might desire or demand, he had really been under a Quixotic delusion ; that they, his Dulcinea, had been in no danger ; that the fancied armies were sheep—the fancied giants windmills—they responded to his appeal by recording Seven Millions of Votes in his favour.

Lord Palmerston, on behalf of Great Britain, acknowledged “un fait accompli,” before the blood was well dry upon the streets of Paris. He acted in accordance

with a sound and wholesome principle ; but with a friendly zealous haste no words are strong enough adequately to condemn. Such a country as France cannot be ignored, even temporarily, among the nations. The non-acknowledgment of any government in her, of any visible representative of her popular sovereignty, of anything that could be spoken to, or treated with, would be to ignore her existence. Great Britain has nothing to do either with her personal ambitions, or her popular caprices, so long as these are confined in their exhibition and action to her own soil, and only necessarily affect her own condition. But the President of the Republic for four years had been already acknowledged. That term had not expired. The hasty reacknowledgment, before any fresh vote of the nation in his favour had been recorded, was therefore nothing less than a felicitation of the destroyer of a national representation — of a triumphant

personal ambition—of an aggressive military despotism. Lord Palmerston acknowledged. But while Great Britain bewailed, *Io Pæans* rose from the Despotic Courts of Europe. The Republic was trampled in the dust; it was already counted among the things that had been. Liberty, popular rights, and all such nonsense, except when assuming the puny form that absolutism permits, had, in their French representative, been decorated with the Cap of Folly, and placed in the Imperial Pillory, where an African soldiery pelted them with musket balls. No wonder that a grateful Pope should bless the accomplished deed, in terms as flattering as when one of his infallible predecessors extolled the righteous glories of the Eve of St. Bartholomew, and struck a medal to commemorate the pouring forth of the blood of the Huguenots.

But there was a Nemesis who recorded all these praises, and felicitations, and bless-

ings ; who thrust her pen among the pages of the Book of Destiny, and recorded there her infallible "promise to pay :"—her irrevocable assurance of retribution to rejoicing despotism ; and to that great guardian of popular liberty in Europe, whose justifiable acknowledgment sinned in a cordiality and felicitation that should not have emanated from her government or been paraded by it. It is one thing to accept "un fait accompli;" even to accept it frankly and unreservedly ; and quite another thing to approve and to extol.

The 1st of January 1852, was fixed for the grand inauguration at Notre Dame, of Prince Louis Napoleon Buonaparte,—or rather, for that of the Empire in his person, under its temporary and introductory title of what was equivalent to a Life Presidency. And the Nemesis of the nations was there on that great day. With its display the guarantees of peace in Europe were at an

end. The cannon that roared at the Invalides, were big with menace; their throats were soon to be rifled, and their bowels made more deadly. Peace veiled her face at the sound. And it may appear, if there be much yet to write on that page of destiny, that the drapery was of funeral crape; the gorgeous canopy a catafalque erected for millions of victims; the Te Deum, an universal dirge; the Vive Napoleons, the shouts and the felicitations, the cries, groans and curses of an immense European woe.

CHAPTER XIV.

ART. 1. "The French Eagle is re-established on the Standards of the Army."

Elysée, 31 December, 1851.

"The Sixth Military Division will continue as at present, *while the Frontiers remain unchanged.*"

Dispatch of the Minister of War.

FROM that day the EMPIRE may be said to have been re-established, though not in the full vigour of its action. For the virtual Emperor, true to his system, did nothing hastily where haste was not indispensable. He had now concentrated in himself the aggressive principle of the army and the Revolution. It was in his hands for employment and controul. It was for him, in the exercise of his judgment, to design the field and the period of its exhibition, and

direct the time of its repose. He did not want to scare either France or Europe. Emperor, though it could confer no greater degree of power than he now possessed, was a title that although associated with much internal progress, was equally so with a great drain of the population of France in foreign wars:—a state of continuous hostility, not so easily reconcileable now with the material interests, occupations and desires of the country, as under the first Empire. It was also in many parts of Europe regarded as in itself a menace of aggression and conquest. The President for ten years thought it advisable, therefore, to pour the oil of pacific assurances on the susceptible waters. He made journeys in France. He congratulated them everywhere on the firm re-establishment of order that would insure to successful industry the certain and quiet enjoyment of its fruits; he eulogised the arts of peace—he pointed out everywhere

how large a field there was for the employment of all the energies of the country within itself, for the advancement of its prosperity; he deprecated war; and laboured hard to prove even to the most sceptical, that the Empire, which his more enthusiastic partisans desired to resuscitate in his honour, would be an eminently tranquillizing event—the commencement of another golden age of plenty and uninterrupted enjoyment. The Empire, as he understood it—as he purposed it, was peace, *L'Empire, c'est La Paix!* Such a thing was too good to be lost. The way was prepared. The time had arrived. He could no longer resist the solicitations. He must appeal to a new election. France should declare her wishes. She did so. Increasing millions had replied,—and Louis Napoleon Buonaparte became really NAPOLEON III., EMPEROR OF THE FRENCH.

Did not all this shew a calculator so profound, possessed of a judgment so clear and

correct—capable of arranging the agreement of means and end, with such admirable precision, to make the latter sure and easy, as might justify a bestowal of the epithet of Great. Yes. Napoleon III. had already proved himself a *Great Man*. He had shewn that he could unlearn himself—a much surer sign of greatness, than is an obstinate adherence to preconceived opinion. The man who brought over an Eagle—a live Eagle, from England to Boulogne to rouse enthusiasm, did not replace the Eagle on the French Standards until the day preceding his inauguration as President for ten years—until, in fact, he was virtually Emperor. And look at the other extract at the head of this chapter, from an order of the day or dispatch of the Minister of War—one of the *two* individuals who alone it is said were intrusted with the Prince's plot fifteen days prior to the 2nd of September, and who organized its execution that assigned day. *Strasbourg* formed

part of the Sixth Military Division. Was not therefore "The Sixth Military Division will continue as at present, *while the Frontiers remain unchanged*" full of significance for the army to which it was addressed? It was; and it was intended to be. Put forward too, not by the Prince himself, but by his Minister of War; so that if necessary it might be diplomatically explained away when the effect had been produced—an unmeaning phrase—a mere inadvertence. The Army and the Revolution, thus assured that the aggressive principle had found its full and true embodiment, the would-be Emperor might proceed safely about his seemingly contradictory operation of convincing the susceptible industry and commerce of the country, that the Empire was peace. He was sure of not losing the army while gaining the country. His appeals to the glories of the Consulate and the Empire, not scarce at that period—his covert allusions to the

misfortune of Waterloo, then so remarked upon in England, were too significant, and too full of meaning as coming from the Author of the Expedition to Rome, and of the Coup d'État of the 2nd December, to allow of their effect being neutralized among the soldiery by any tranquillizing assurances to the general population and the great industrial and commercial interests. He had discovered the secret of making all his cards trump cards—and of playing them so admirably as to be sure of winning the game.

He certainly had his prototype in the traveller who cooled his drink and warmed his fingers by one and the same means ; succeeding in both. With one stroke of his pen he signed a proclamation setting forth his destruction of the Hydra-headed demon of Anarchy, and that all might devote themselves to the arts of peace. With another, he decreed the formation of Two New Bat-

talions of Chasseurs de Vincennes. And these were calculated contradictions. There was no obscurity in the mind from which they emanated. He knew what he meant in both. He knew that both would have their weight and influence, now that he had already convinced the Press that the only real freedom it possessed was to elaborate his praises, not to criticize his acts. From the moment of his first election as President for four years, it had been his policy to bewilder ; to attract all eyes ; to occupy all minds ; to fix all attention upon himself. He evidently felt himself absolved from the restraints imposed on meaner men of avoiding seeming inconsistencies. His position was itself an inconsistency, and required numberless inconsistencies to support it. A mind so constituted as his, when an occasion seems to point out certain phrases, or certain actions as offering advantage in their employment, does not wait to consider whether they will

be in perfect accordance or unison with precedent ones, or with others he may have to resort to on the morrow. Such a labour of consistency were altogether unworthy a man of genius and a child of destiny. To be always consistent would be to allow nineteen opportunities out of twenty for attracting attention, to pass away unimproved. And he knew too well, that those in eminent position, who cease to occupy the public mind, and who but rarely excite it, soon become indifferent to it, and are forgotten by it. The spider who seeks to establish an extended base of operations for his filmy snares, throws out a number of his glutinous threads in all directions, not knowing which, but certain that one or more or all will succeed. And so the man who has certain specific unacknowledged ends in view. He must spread abroad every sail to catch every breeze of human passion, if he would attain the port of his desires. He may have often

to let fly a sheet, to take in sail, to change his course, but he will be generally advancing. To some he will appear vacillating and capricious and uncertain. To others mysterious, inscrutable, yet always persistent. But the more men differ about him, the greater will be his influence. And his achievement of certain successes of which he never dreamed, but which are sure to be attributed to his wonderful prescience, will not interfere to divert him from the object he may have really determined to attain.

CHAPTER XV.

THE Empire could never have been restored in France except by such a Man. The re-establishment of the Empire by such a Man, must necessarily be fraught with very serious consequences to Europe. Not less, though of a different nature, *perhaps*, to Great Britain than to the Continent. Those who could or can only see France under a new or revived governmental title, France under a so-called Emperor instead of under a so-called King or President of Republic, have no real conception of the nature of the change brought about by the Coup d'Etat of the 2nd December, and the subsequent elections of President for ten years, and finally Emperor. It was not the mere substitution of an Emperor for a

King or President. It was not the creation of *an* Empire. It was the restoration, the re-establishment, the effective return among the powers of Europe, of *the* Empire. It was not *an* Emperor France received and Europe acknowledged. It was *the* Emperor: another Napoleon, the legitimate Heir and Successor of the former. Nothing can be more clear than that he himself so understood—so felt, so intended it; and that France so admitted it. When the French Revolution of 1848 surprised and agitated Europe, Lamartine's re-assuring manifesto proclaimed at one and the same time that the Treaties which fixed the then Frontier of France were at an end, but that the limit they had imposed would nevertheless be adhered to. But vain were all the efforts made after the 2nd December to elicit from Louis Napoleon Buonaparte any pacific assurances whatever. Not that they were themselves of any consequence, or that any

reliance could have been placed on them. But though really unimportant for others, they would not have been so to him. In re-establishing THE Empire under himself, as the legitimate Heir of the founder of the Dynasty, merely calling upon the people to ratify the appointment previously made, he repudiated for Himself and for France, every thing that had been done against, or without the concurrence of the Emperor and the Empire. He stepped back to 1814. He revoked the renunciation of Fontainbleau because it was not in the power of the Emperor to divest himself of that which France had conferred. The duration under which it was exacted was an insult and a wrong both to him and to the country. The Restoration of the Bourbons was an aggravation of offence on the part of the European Powers; they could have no right to advantage from their own wrong. If France was to be placed thenceforth within more circumscribed limits,

the Emperor should have been called upon to sanction it. None but the Emperor could have any right or power to cede one inch of what he considered French territory. The life of a Nation could not be destroyed by the acts of a Foreign Coalition that dethroned and imprisoned its Sovereign, and after his death condemned his Successor and his Heir to durance and to exile. Therefore all and every advantage France had obtained during the forced absence of the Empire and its legitimate authority—every acquisition she might have made, was hers, equally as though her Emperor had been present; but any stipulations for her territorial diminution, any restraint imposed by the agreements of others on the action of her Emperor was null and void. The Empire had never ceased to exist. The other governments were intrusive. The Duke of Reichstadt was kept in durance at Vienna, as was his illustrious father at St. Helena, but he

was not the less Napoleon 2nd ; therefore the present was Napoleon 3rd. The minds of such men must be divined from their acts and words and silence. In his proclamations direct and indirect, in his reticence, and in the Title he assumed, the Emperor clearly evinced that these were his sentiments and pretensions. And therefore he resumed the property possessed during that intrusion by the Orleans family. There is nothing of the Lord Burleigh shake of the head in this. Such men do not wear their hearts upon their sleeve for daws to peck at. To get at their secret mind, no species of external evidence should be disregarded. No forced or warped construction should be put upon anything. There should be no strained interpretations to sustain a foregone conclusion ; but a fair deduction from that only species of evidence such minds bestow.

The Empire therefore had something more to do than merely administer the internal go-

vernment, and direct the ordinary external affairs of France. It assumed at once that France had wrongs to redress, restitution to obtain, influence to re-conquer, and injuries to avenge. It placed France in a new position with regard to the rest of Europe. Under the governments of the Restoration and of 1830 she had no pretensions to extended territory, or to any greater share of influence in Europe than that to which from her position, character, wealth, defensive strength, commercial and industrial development, and scientific eminence, she was fairly entitled among the nations, and which she undoubtedly enjoyed. But this could not satisfy her as Empire, and her Chief as the legitimate successor of her Great Emperor. Napoleon the 3rd must restore, as far as possible, the position and influence of the Empire before those disasters which led to its nearly 40 years of eclipse. It had emerged from that long overshadowing. It

must appear in its former brightness and glory.

There can be no right understanding of what has since occurred and is now taking place in Europe, unless this total change of French position is fully comprehended and admitted. It is a fact not a fiction. It is a reality not an hypothesis. It is the key through which alone the new volume of French and European History can be read with profit. And let it not be said that a fact cannot be established by the means here employed for that purpose. The greatest of modern Astronomers, himself a subject of that Empire, effected his discovery of a new planet by a similar chain of just inference and deduction. He said, and said truly, "Where there is a disturbance, there must necessarily exist a disturbing cause;" and he thus reasoned up to the planetary influence that produced the observable planetary phenomena. What he thus said must

exist, it was then found really did exist. The planet was where he had asserted, and exercising the power he had ascribed to it.

What was true in celestial, is equally true in mundane affairs. The perturbation among the European nations since 1851, must be the result of *some* new influence. And this can only be found in one direction. One powerful nation has changed its position with regard to the others. France, an Empire under a Buonapartean Emperor, is essentially different from France, a kingdom, under the elder or younger branch of the Bourbons. The one had no pretensions either avowed or secret, acknowledged or implied of a disturbing tendency ; the other has. The one was satisfied with the influence naturally arising from its position and strength ; the other, wishes to exercise one adventitiously accruing from former military triumphs. The one was satisfied with equality ; the other desires preponderance

and supremacy. The one was content to rely upon its dominant power; the other as maintaining the aggressive principle, must make a continual exhibition of its active energy. In the event of an open rupture between France and the other nations, it is impossible to conceive a more completely antagonistic style of relations. Uncertainty succeeded to confidence: watchfulness to vigilance. And this not because of any predisposition to the part of the other nations to find advantage in the change: but because it forced them to take into the evidence of facts, the evidence of purposes: although never was there existed so persistent a struggle against evidence: so persistent a determination not to draw even the only true and legitimate conclusions.

CHAPTER XVI.

Does this imply a condemnation of the Emperor? Far from it; except inasmuch as he forced himself into the position he occupies, of which all this is a necessary consequence. These results are a necessary consequence of his position; but that position was not a necessary consequence of any thing preceding it. The Empire is peace. Yes: but peace upon certain conditions; and with certain military episodes: a peace, not of internal action, and external repose, but of continual vibration and restless aggressive development. It is a peace that seems to address all the world in these terms: "Allow France and her Emperor to do whatever they choose, and to assume the supreme direction of all your affairs, and there is no reason why I should

ever be disturbed." This is a complete resuscitation of the Empire under Napoleon the First, with only such a change in the means employed as is due to the differing characteristics of the one and the other epoch. A continuance of the spirit with a divergence of the letter. A servile imitation would have been impossible. It did take place up to a certain point. There it necessarily terminated. When the Empire was first established, France and Europe were in the attitude of mutual and determined hostility. When it was resuscitated, they were in that of peace. France, enriched by her forty years of comparative repose, and having a greatly developed commerce and industry, which demanded something like amicable external relations for their prosperity, could not with safety to the Emperor or to the Empire, have been plunged into a general European conflict. If they could so have been, they would have been.

There is nothing, therefore, due to the moderation of the Emperor on this score. It must have been observed there is no desire here to dispute his claim to any merit he may be justly entitled to. But there is also a determination not to accord him any that does not belong to him. To give him credit for not having commenced a general European war, is to praise him for not having committed suicide and ruined France; a praise that implies such an insult to his understanding, it could not possibly be acceptable to so discriminating a judge.

From the moment he obtained the direction of the government of France, an increased efficiency of the army and navy was the object of his constant solicitude and effort. While seeking to increase her internal resources, and here he cannot be too highly eulogised, he was equally intent on developing her aggressive forces. He thus kept his promises, both direct and indirect,

to the country and to the army, with admirable fidelity. Neither can say he has deceived them ; both must confess he has gratified them. The increase of resources, and development of forces were means to an end. He has employed, and is employing them ; and by them he is gradually realizing the proposed end : which the eventual end, however, may very far surpass, since no human prescience can divine the expanding results of change ; or, while effecting purposes of national ambition and revenge, impose an arbitrary limit at which both action and consequence shall cease, realizing just and only just what had been intended. This is an attribute of Divinity alone ; one in which even Satan does not participate. “ Who is he that knoweth the end from the beginning ? ” is a question God asked by the mouth of His Prophet, as a justification to human reason of His claim of single homage.

The Continental Powers were so blinded

by their sympathies for absolute government, and Great Britain, too false to her principles to say no power should interfere, was justly so dissatisfied with the oppressive results of uncontrolled Austrian influence in Italy, that all were content to view the Roman intervention as a pledge of peace to Europe. They saw in it a conservative tendency; not an exhibition of the aggressive principle. Even Austria was satisfied at having a work done that she could not then herself perform. They did not perceive the hand of the Emperor under the cloak of temporary President of the Republic. It put down anarchical rule and popular experiment. The Empire was always ready to do that. Its tendencies were always as repressive as aggressive. But when the Presidency of four years terminated in the Coup d'Etat of the 2nd of December, 1851, merging first in a Presidency of ten years, then in the Empire, and instead of the evacuation of Rome, a continuing oc-

cupation was evidently intended, light broke in; and the lauded operation wore a very different aspect; though no one, not even the author himself, could foresee the exact mode by which it would operate, or the results to which it has since conducted; and which are tending to the entire accomplishment of that darling object of French ambition, a dominant French influence throughout Italy, to the total exclusion of all Austrian participation or check. This is now inevitable. And the condemnation we have as a Free Nation been compelled to heap upon the abominable despotisms under which those naturally favoured, but politically unhappy regions have so long groaned, renders us altogether powerless to prevent or impede it. Great Britain is compelled by her sympathies to applaud what her political reason condemns. She can only shout with joy at the preliminary means, to an end she cannot do other than deprecate; and may possibly find

within a very short time so many powerful reasons to deplore.

The French being established at Rome, the coming Empire stretched out its hand further from under the Presidential robe. It was an equally important movement as regards the future, though it was only a Diplomatic one. It has already had considerable results; which were, however, only preparative, and but the first step toward the final ones contemplated. Early in 1850 the President became dissatisfied with the comparative position of the members of the Roman Catholic Church in the dominions of the Sultan. He found out that they had not the rights and privileges they were entitled to. That under the protection of Russia constantly extended to them, and her influence exerted in their behalf, the ten or twelve million Christians of the Greek Church enjoyed equal or greater privileges, and had equal or greater possessions in Jerusalem,

with or ~~than~~ the members of the Latin Church ; who, however, instead of being counted by millions and being Turkish subjects, were not very many thousands in number, and principally subjects of different Christian States. He then culled out, or his protégée and tool the Pope did for him, some old Treaty of the seventeenth century. Upon this he, in May 1850, based a peremptory demand of an absolute transfer to the Roman Catholics of certain sanctuaries in Jerusalem, which they had hitherto possessed in common with the Sultan's many millions of Greek Church subjects ; after which the use of them by any of the latter would be in virtue of a favour accorded by the former. In the course of a short time several other Catholic powers under the influence of the Pope supported the French demand. The Emperor of Russia, as the acknowledged head of the Greek Church, protested against any change that should deprive the members of that

communion of any of the rights or privileges they had hitherto enjoyed, or transfer to the protégées of the French Emperor, exclusively, any thing the Greek Christians had hitherto possessed with them in common. The coming Empire thus began to claim its supremacy. Buonapartism, the embodiment of the aggressive principle, the great disturber of the Peace of Europe was already at its work, and preparing the way for its peculiar glories.

CHAPTER XVII.

THUS early did the new great European spider begin to commit his glutinous threads to the wind, having secured of course one extremity, that they might serve, if necessary, as a future base of operations. He occupied Rome; he had laid at Constantinople the foundation of a very pretty quarrel, which he might prosecute or withdraw from as should suit his purpose, but which brought him present fruit in influence, and in attracting that observation which seems to be so essential to the life of the Empire. He needed at that time the active co-operation of the Church; and by these masterly operations he secured that for his immediate personal views, by seeming to do in the sole interest of the Church and its Head the

Pope, what was intended for ulterior objects of dynastic ambition and national aggrandizement and preponderance, in which they could not participate; and with which they could have no connection, except such as they must particularly desire to avoid. The Pope and the Church were tools; to be used and abandoned according to circumstances. They have partly received their reward. The one is contemned. The other has no hope of being allowed to exercise his infallibility except under French protection. He might have to leave Rome—but he need not fear. He will not be suffered to wander unprotected; and the Emperor's gratitude will not permit that any other than himself should have the honour of being responsible for his safety. There is no need to recapitulate all that was done and said at Constantinople in the interval between May 1850, and the proclamation of the Empire, under Napoleon the Third. But without

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allowing any such to change in one iota the opinions generally and justly entertained as to the tendency of the hereditary policy of Russia with regard to Turkey, there are two conclusions that cannot fail to be drawn from an unbiassed perusal of all the Documents in the Parliamentary Blue Books relative to the Eastern Question that had grown out of those French demands. The first is, that the war had its origin in the sustained pretensions and menaces of France, seconded by the Emperor's dispatch of the French fleet to Salamis immediately the news of Prince Menschikoff's mission to Constantinople was known in Paris, and before any intelligence was received of his precise demands. The second, that the British Government, after having disagreed with the President of the Republic, and pronounced almost entirely in favour of Russia in 1850, was so adroitly managed by the Emperor of the French in 1853 as to allow

itself to be made the instrument for taking the Emperor's chestnuts out of the fire, so that the actual counselling of the Sultan to war proceeded from the British Ambassador under instructions from his Government. Does not this shew the vast difference in influence between President and Emperor, and that the Empire was immediately recognized as indeed a great fact.

No subsequent efforts on the part of the British and French Governments to prevent war, can at all affect the truth of these deductions. The British Government may be presumed to have been sincere, since Russia certainly offered every possible facility for the settlement of the dispute. And the French Government could afford to affect sincerity, because it knew that fanaticism had been roused to such a pitch in Turkey that the Sultan dared not recede, however unreasonable and seemingly insulting to France and England his refusal might be, unless these

powers really coerced him to submission. A stone had been set rolling that could not be stopped without an opposing force it was determined not to apply. The British public had also pronounced in favour of war. To make war with France for an ally, and with a Napoleon Emperor for an ally, had an irresistible charm of novelty. The Emperor had no reason to fear burning his fingers with his chestnuts.

Thus it will be seen the Empire had scarcely made its reappearance, before it became the motor of an European war. The origin of the war really was in the dispute as to *who should keep the key of the Chapel of the Nativity at Bethlehem*. Through the demands and menaces of France, it had been given to the French and other Roman Catholics at Jerusalem, to the prejudice and insult of the Greek Christians. It would not do of course to call it a war for this object. It required a

grand title, a great excuse ; and it therefore became a war to preserve the integrity of the Turkish empire ! It will be necessary to examine briefly the Crimean war, and present aspect of the Eastern Question in this point of view—the maintenance of the integrity of the Turkish empire.

The war proceeded. Its phases, and the success that led to its termination, are too well known to need remark. But there are important circumstances connected with it that must be alluded to. Great Britain was the first to encourage the Emperor in gratifying the aggressive principle, of which as a Buonaparte and Emperor, he was the embodiment. The French army, acting with the forces of Great Britain, was avenging the disasters of the Russian campaign, and the occupation of Paris. Did England forget that there was also a catastrophe of Waterloo, that rankled quite as much in the French mind, as the burning and retreat

from Moscow? and that her forces also were in occupation of Paris? There was nothing so important in the eyes of the Emperor as to obtain for the resuscitated Empire the prestige of military success; to give the army an opportunity of obtaining that glory, and those honours and rewards without which a dominant military force will not long retain its attachment to the head of the State, and to effect this without wounding the susceptibility, rousing the suspicions, or provoking the antagonism of England, ultimately so fatal to the first Napoleon.

Great Britain stepped in to the aid of the Emperor, and acted as if there was nothing so important as to strengthen his hands, and assist in the primary development of his aggressive resources. She allowed herself to be forced into a war that might have been avoided. As her ally, she looked with complacency and delight upon his efforts to increase the efficiency of his army-- to confirm

its attachment to the Empire by success and honours and rewards. She shewed him how inadequate his navy was for any great offensive operation, and applauded all his schemes and endeavours to augment it.

There have been many great mistakes committed by Great Britain ; but there never was a greater than that war in alliance with France and Turkey. The progress of Napoleon the Third in influence would have been so much slower but for that war, that Great Britain may with justice be said to have advanced the Empire ten years, in thus enabling him to make war by becoming his ally. The Emperor was throughout master of the situation. He was the promoter of the quarrel. Whatever the number of troops she might bring into the field, his were greatly to outnumber hers. She was to be throughout the Little John to his Robin Hood. As if to shew her repentance for having been so important an instrument in

the eclipse of the Empire in 1814-1815 ; as if to deprecate the wrath of the new Emperor, she hailed its emerging brightness with ministerial raptures of delight ; and, throwing her power into his arms, gave invaluable assistance in removing every cloud that might impair the exhibition of its returning glory.

CHAPTER XVIII.

SHE succeeded: Sebastopol fell under a French attack. It was with difficulty that Great Britain was admitted to any participation in the glory. It had cost her no small amount of money, blood, and tears. It ruined the reputation of statesmen and generals. It humiliated her in the eyes of all the world as regarded her military organization. Her troops could fight—but it was the unreasoning courage and tenacity of the bull dog, while the French army became once more the admiration of Europe. They were again the soldiers of Lodi, of Arcola and of Austerlitz. The ability of the Emperor's generals, the intelligent impetuosity of his troops, the masterly dispositions for the attack, and the magnificent storming of the

Malakoff, were themes for every tongue. Moscow was avenged. Any more recent personal slight was atoned for. The Emperor was satisfied. He had obtained all he wanted in the war. It was time to remember again that the "Empire was peace." In the haste of internal development under Imperial stimulus, a factitious prosperity had been inaugurated in France. This was threatened with collapse should the monetary drain for prolonged hostilities continue. Peace was resolved upon at the Tuileries. Great Britain must accede. She had yoked herself to the Imperial car. She wept and grumbled over her costly armaments—over the premature blight on her crop of laurels she was to have gathered in the Baltic the following year. But nations wisely directed, never bind themselves in treaties further than their interests really require. The Emperor had achieved his objects. To continue the war would have been only to for-

ward real or fancied English ones. He was not committed to the alliance for any end beyond what could be now secured. No French interests demanded the destruction of the Baltic Russian fleet. It might be for the future Imperial French interests that it should be preserved. The Emperor was master of the situation. England was compelled to limit her views by the bounds of his horizon. A truce was settled. The basis of peace negotiations was arranged, and the calling a Congress to compile the important document that should restore tranquillity to Europe—a tranquillity that England ought never to have been an accomplice in disturbing.

And what then? Had she not done enough in regilding the Imperial throne? It seemed not. She consented that the Congress should be held at Paris, under the personal influence of the Emperor. She yielded reluctantly to make peace. She

was therefore entitled to some compensation from her ally. Well, he graciously enabled her to give a new proof of her deference. What more could she desire? She called it an act of courtesy; but the universal European voice pronounced it *deference*. She could not afford two such concessions. It must affect her prestige and influence. So it did. The prestige of a nation is an important part of its external life; but she yielded a fresh portion of it gracefully to the Emperor. This may have seemed unimportant to many. But her astute friend knew better. Was it nothing to bring around the Imperial throne the leading diplomatists of Europe, that the genius of Peace seated thereon might exercise his personal fascinations and influence; that they might attend at the cradle of the expected Prince Imperial, welcome his advent, surround him with the concentrated glory of the Peace, and swell the pæans of Napoleonic praise? Was it

nothing that Great Britain, who had already assisted so materially in laying anew the foundation of Imperial influence in Europe, should then help the rising structure in Paris, the centre of former Imperial humiliation; that she should lead the chorus of homage to the great Napoleon the Third, as greater than his great uncle, whom it cost her five hundred millions of debt to resist—as almost more than mortal in talent, in intelligence, and in success; the greatest financier, politician, organizer, and administrative genius of modern times? That all the world should behold her fall down and worship the image Napoleon the Third had set up—Napoleon the Third, Grand Pacifier of Europe?

For Great Britain had made a third and most dangerous concession. She was disposed at first to grumble at this, too; but, she ate the leek. It was the Emperor's desire that Prussia, who had taken no part

in the war should assist at the Congress. Instead, therefore, of merely negotiating a treaty of peace between belligerents, the Congress of Vienna was to be eclipsed, the affairs of all Europe were to be brought under discussion, so far as it might suit the Emperor and his views; a great debating club was to assemble at Paris, where the conduct of certain governments of minor states in their relations with their own subjects was *ex officio*, to be denounced, and censured in protocols intended to be made public. The Congress of Vienna had necessarily to deal with a general European disturbance. But it was a new and important concession to Franco-Imperial vanity and prestige, to establish, that whenever two or three or more of the European Powers meet to settle their own disputes, when there has been no general disturbance, the condition and relation of states not affected by the war may be made subjects of discussion


and projects; and the assembly erect itself into a supreme tribunal, having jurisdiction over all other peoples and monarchs!

There is only one step from such a concession, to that of admitting the right of any Power that can secure for itself a great preponderating influence, to make itself the arbiter of the fate of all minor states. Vive l'Empereur Napoléon! He proved himself to be indeed the giant among the pigmies of the epoch. He constantly expressed a strong desire that the signature of the treaty, and the delivery of the Empress should be coincident; so that the Imperial Prince, if a Prince, and Peace should be associated in men's minds. But there was more than that in his mind; and he realized it all. The public press in every country kept alive the general expectation of these two great events. All eyes, all thoughts were directed toward Paris. The blending together of these events was a grand coup. Paris became the centre of all regards. The most

prominent political celebrities of the principal European states were there to felicitate the restorer of the Cometic Imperial Dynasty on the birth of an intended successor. The Star of the Buonapartes never shone with a brighter lustre than when these really occurred ; and the rejoicings were so blended that the Prince and Peace each received the whole homage. Can it be a matter of surprise that with so much on which to feed, Vanity so enlarged its bulk, that the Imperial throne should seem to its occupant to give light to the universe ! There can be no evil in the expression of a hope that the light it and its occupant diffuses be not, in the wonderful language of the One Great and only Prince of Peace, the humble Babe of Bethlehem—darkness. “ If thine eye be evil, thy whole body shall be full of darkness. If, therefore, the light that is within thee be darkness, how great is that darkness” !

When the people of Great Britain deplore the presence of ominous clouds on the poli-

tical horizon ; the occasional ascent, and bursting of one under the pressure of an Imperial hand, Great Britain being a mere spectator ; and the heavy cost of increased armaments their only shelter should those clouds be so charged with storm as their colour indicates, let them revert to the origin and commencement of the Crimean war, the events of 1853, 4, 5, and 6, and to the Conferences of Paris. They will not fail to perceive how strenuous were their efforts to blow into magnitude the Imperial bubble that has now become so immense of bulk it intercepts the pure rays of the orb of tranquillity and peace from England, and only allows her to receive them as reflected from its prismatic surface ; a bubble that, in continually expanding and enlarging, becomes charged with all the elements of tempest ; and that when it bursts, if it be doomed to burst, will not be a drop of sullied water in the dust, but a devastating deluge.



CHAPTER XIX.

Is there any exaggeration? Did not the British Plenipotentiary carry his worship of the Imperial glory so far as to sign a denunciation of the Belgian press? What said the "Times," writing six months later, of this incident—"Such men, for instance, view " in the negotiations for a treaty of peace, " an excellent opportunity for reviling and " crushing the press of a small, but free " State ; and, as we are driven to it, we " must confess that we saw with shame and " disgust how easily our own Plenipoten- " tiaries were beguiled by the snare spread " for them before their eyes." It was courtesy again carried to the point of deference ; for, if not, the representative of Great Britain would have done as did he of Austria,

after the Sardinian exposition of the affairs of Italy, stated his incompetency to enter upon the topic, it not having been provided for in his instructions. This is only alluded to, because to obtain anything like a due appreciation of the present, or a glimpse of the future, it is necessary to understand what the Emperor and the Empire are, and how they became all that they are. And the above is only one of many evidences afforded at the period of those conferences that the system of extolling our ally as possessed of almost superhuman wisdom, and worshipping his success, had been pursued until this was really believed to be invariable, and that infallible. All that was done damaged England and elevated the Emperor. Look at the ridiculous Neapolitan paper intervention. Count Walewski claimed the initiative in this for the Emperor. England, who merely acceded to the views of France, became an object of ridicule in Eu-

rope, when set at nought by the insignificant reptile then King of Naples ; but France—no—all Europe believed that what was done answered in some way or other the Imperial purpose. The British press had for a long time so laboured to create a deep impression of extraordinary wisdom and talent in the Emperor, that men could not conceive him to be at fault. They might not comprehend, but they felt bound to believe that could they do so, his wisdom would have been as manifest in that Neapolitan as in all other matters.

And well they might so believe of a man who before he could enter, as the ally of Great Britain, upon that accursed Crimean war, which resulted from his machinations, from his demands, from his demonstrations, and which was therefore *his own* war, and for *his* objects (although a different character was given to it) exacted, and received certain maritime concessions of a most impor-

tant nature. The Emperor had scruples. France could not desist from claims and pretensions she had vainly endeavoured to establish, and the Emperor, therefore, with a modesty that deserved success, requested Great Britain should yield what she had successfully maintained. And determined, at whatever cost, to exalt the Emperor to that pinnacle on which he now sits, ineting out his smiles, his frowns, his contemptuous patronage to the different European Powers, Great Britain granted that "the neutral flag, should cover enemy's goods; and that "neutral goods should be safe under an "enemy's flag." What all the world in arms could never wrest from her, she gracefully conceded to the new star of Empire.

As the Emperor was still, and ever to be the ally, *par excellence*, the prop—the stay—the beginning and the end of all things with her, she could not resume what she had temporarily conceded; and, therefore, under his

patronizing direction, she made that general and permanent, which was only temporary and specific,—a present to all the nations at the Conference of Paris.

One or two more such victories and she would have been indeed undone. It is bad enough for nations to set up an idol within themselves for worship ; but to elevate it in a land that is not theirs, that has been for ages hostile, and never friendly at heart, and to bring their power and glory to it *there* in homage, is suicidal.

The practical disadvantage to Great Britain in time of war of that maritime concession is enormous. Since the Continent is so connected by lines of railway, every country may be said to have many other ports than those in her own territory, and as the only influence she can exert on the Continent is by the action of her fleet, she has divested herself of all power over those commercial and industrial interests, whose voice would

have been loud for peace with her, because of the danger they would have incurred were she hostile.

Of course if the Empire is peace—universal peace—there is an end of the matter. But is it?

War is so much to be deprecated, the evils inseparable from it, how rigid soever the discipline that may be observed as a general rule, are so grievous, that there can be no wonder many hearts venture to hope all the great wars are at an end ; and that although there may be, and it is almost to be hoped, as in the present Sicilian rising, there will be, that outraged humanity may vindicate its cause against vile oppressors, some partial and very local ones, there will be no more general and wide spread hostilities. What, then, means this almost universal inquietude ? What means this incessant din of preparation, noisy, if not adequate or efficient ? It must have a cause. It is that the nations

are terrified at some real or erroneously imputed designs of One whom Great Britain, as has been shewn, exerted herself so nobly, so devotedly, at so much cost, and by so much courteous concession, by such eulogy, by such almost adoration, to assist in attaining that supreme elevation of influence and power, where he now appears terrible. Yes — terrible.

Is, then, all the world afraid of one man ? of the force one man can direct ? No ; not afraid. An object may be terrible in itself, or by the investiture it receives from the imagination, yet not inspire fear. Apprehension, inquietude, uneasiness, a vague sense of approaching danger, are not at all necessarily combined with fear. That these exist was asserted in the first words of this attempt to penetrate their mystery — to shew, if they had a cause, which it is unquestionable they have, what and where that cause is, its true nature, its intent, how

that ought to be regarded ; what precautions ought to be taken, what complications be avoided, what ends purposed, and what means employed. It is as regards Great Britain that this attempt is made. Let other nations form their own estimate of the cause of their uneasiness. It is the same cause ; but the operation of that cause cannot be precisely the same in them as in her. The plain truth is, that she has been in an especial danger. The vast increase of material wealth within her, the constant growth of luxury within her borders, the rapid augmentation and spread of fictitious wants, those necessities of advancing civilization, through all classes of her population, have imperilled her mighty and independent existence. That wealth, that luxury, and those wants, produced a strange theoretical spirit belonging exclusively to this present age, that grew with their growth, and strengthened with their strength. The su-

perior efficacy of the principles and practice under which she grew to her wondrous power and wealth, became more than called in question. That uncompromising independence of existence, asserted as against all the world, and which if it produced enmity overawed enemies, was said to have been impeding in its influence. That her wealth and power grew up notwithstanding its influence, being neither created, guarded, nor advanced by it; that their development indeed would have been greater and more rapid but for its hindrance. The susceptibility of wealth filled her with cosmopolitan tendencies, and was destroying her self-reliance. The practical infidelity of wealth asserted and *asserts* its mission of universal peace and concord: it took the humanitarian guise, and sets up individuality against nationality; while its insatiable greed made and makes every other question secondary to that of its own augmentation, postponing

to it even that of its own safety. She has been roused—but she is not yet more than half awake from that sleep of material enjoyment. She has rubbed her eyes open—is clearing her vision—begins to conceive that if the Devil's instrument, wealth, is to bring the thousand years of peace to earth, in lieu of its being inaugurated by celestial influence, the time at least has not yet arrived; and that such a tune as was played on the 2nd December 1851, is not the sort of melody that should usher it in.

CHAPTER XX.

ALTHOUGH that theoretical spirit of the age, the offspring of greedy wealth and augmented indulgencies, is unceasing in its efforts to throw her back into her dangerous slumber, she does not seem as if she could again resign herself to it. There is too much noise of the hammer, the anvil and the forge, in yards and arsenals not her own, to permit repose. She seems to have arrived at the conclusion of an eminent Statesman, since deceased, who wrote in June 1852, "The man who organised the conspiracy of the second of December for his personal aggrandisement, must continue to be in all things an object of constant even though friendly suspicion, and of untiring watchfulness. The only security

“ England can have against treachery on
“ his part, must consist in ample prepara-
“ tion at all points against it. To be con-
“ strained to this, is in itself an evil of no
“ common magnitude. But unless we prefer
“ committing national suicide, there is no
“ alternative.”

This, written before Great Britain had espoused the French quarrel in the East of Europe, before, indeed, there was an indisputable Emperor to receive her adoration—before she had so generously entered into that Monkey and Cat Alliance, where the burnt paw falls to the share of the one, and the chestnuts to the other—before she had stimulated to activity in his dockyards and arsenals, as computing his fleets to be an augmentation of her own strength—this, of course, *may be* no longer applicable, or just. But if to consider it to be so, be an error, there is, unhappily, too much that may be urged in excuse for it.

Having been compelled by circumstances, and against his inclination no doubt, to differ with her about the continuance of the war just at the time he had obtained all he had ever desired or contemplated in it, and to force her into the adoption of his views in consenting to its termination, did he then not continue to be a good ally? It cannot so be said. Justly speaking, there was no longer any alliance, after Great Britain had burned that extravagant quantity of incense at the shrine of the new Deity in the Conferences of Paris. But the Emperor did not so understand it. Well versed in her poets, he addressed her in the words of her charming melodist,

“ You may break, you may shiver the vase as you will,
“ But the scent of the roses will cling round it still.”

She was a little inclined to pout at his very marked attention to their late antagonist, to whose wounded amour propre he was in the uncalculating generosity of his

nature applying some soothing styptics. Some officious enemy of their amours had represented him to her as having really spoken words of tenderness such as these:—

“After all, I have shewn a real affection
“for you; what I may have done that
“seemed harsh was because I would force
“you to like me. You know I would have
“preferred even a personal alliance with
“you, and “the heart that has truly loved
“never forgets,” though it may, if slighted,
“inflict a bloody nose during its fit of anger.
“That maritime concession which you have
“been seeking these fifty years, I obtained
“for you—and that is worth all the war
“has cost you; while, if I had not inter-
“fered, my friend would certainly have
“made as clean work with your Baltic
“fleet, as you had yourself made with
“your Black Sea one. We must be friends.
“It is worth your while, because whatever
“she may say about it, the sick man will

"die, and must be cut up one of these
"days."

There may have been no truth in the report, but the increased activity in the naval yards, both of France and Russia after the treaty had been signed, did not wear a pleasing aspect. The Emperor's love had not, however, really diminished. A flirtation with others was no proof of this. A fortunate contemporary diplomatist is said to have achieved his first great step by incessantly compromising attentions to a lady of rank. This was the Emperor's system with Great Britain. A dispute took place between her and the mandarins of China. But his affection would not allow her any longer to settle alone her disputes. To prove to the world how closely they were allied, he insisted on sharing with her the dangers of that distant war. Here was an answer to any observations as to a rapid increase of his naval armaments. Were

they not at that very time acting in combination in China? The argument was irresistible. He was a sure friend—a faithful ally. But somehow his attentions did compromise her character. The French Press, whose spirituel lucubrations have a wider circulation on the Continent than the stupid facts of the English, established incontestably, that whatever had been achieved in China worth the doing, was the work of the Imperial forces, but for whom Great Britain would have been very much humiliated. The Emperor gained, and she lost prestige, by his so assiduously paying his court to her. His gallantries affected her reputation. He kicked up the mud with his boots, and soiled her skirts with it, while seemingly rendering her an affectionate service.

But her attention was about to be engrossed by events in a portion of her distant dominions, that rendered necessary a display of energy on her part. The Native

troops of her great Indian possessions had mutinied ; in many instances they had murdered their British officers, and committed other deplorable excesses. The mutiny became rebellion. The old rule was to be restored, and the English to be annihilated. She would not believe at first in the magnitude of the danger. The old proverbial Saxon slowness was again exhibited ; and afforded the most conclusive evidence of the necessity of Great Britain being in a state of constant preparedness against all contingencies, in a period of rapid and startling transition such as that at which the world has now arrived. But for the indomitable energy, and unyielding endurance of the comparative handful of British troops in India, and the extraordinary talent displayed among the officers of the Anglo-Indian army, the country might have been irretrievably lost, while Great Britain was preparing with her usual sluggishness to save it. Of course, when

really in action, she put forth an adequate amount of strength. But it is this peculiarity of the British character, that exposes England to especial dangers in the altered circumstances of Europe, and with the important changes that have taken place as regards the facilities of aggressive action by sea. That "unreadiness" was of comparatively trifling disadvantage to her, when disputes were long in maturing—when hostilities were contemplated and openly prepared for, long before they took place; and when there was no power in Europe in a state of constant preparation for offensive action against her. But since such a power has arisen, however seemingly close the ties of amity that bind her with it, and though its professions may be as sincere as her own, the disadvantage of her proverbial unreadiness is no longer a trifling one. It will not be at all difficult to shew why, under such circumstances, it is natural she should be more sen-

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sitive than such other power ; and manifest an uneasiness, that, existing in conjunction with an ardent desire of peace and friendship, is demonstrated in a manner that cannot but be prejudicial to her reputation.

CHAPTER XXI.

GREAT Britain, occupied with her Eastern trouble, not only did the activity in the French yards and arsenals increase, but the inextinguishable love of Piedmont for Lombardy and other portions of Italy—no—for the Lombards and other inhabitants of Italy of course, became more open and violent in its demonstrations. It would be uncharitable to doubt the affection. A man's love may not be less sincere, because she who has inspired it happens to be an heiress. That the gratification of the love must bring wealth or territory with it, is only an accident of the position; not necessarily a component in the sentiment. The Piedmontese loved the Italians. It was an ardent passion, and a jealous one. It did not demand a mere tem-

porary gratification, but was prepared for an indissoluble union. This was the main plot of the new European entertainment that was in course of composition by those talented authors, Messrs. Napoleon and Victor-Emanuel. To make the piece complete there was of course a subordinate plot, and a little intrigue. Altogether it had three marriages at least in it, and was therefore likely to come off well. A real *bond fide* union between a Prince and Princess—a grand military promenade, with naval accompaniment—a Te Deum—several divorce suits, in which the ecclesiastical authorities were not to be consulted,—marriages and remarriages. In this play of the “Ardent Lovers,” although complete as far as it went, there was evidently an unfinished action. It was therefore only Part 1st, to be followed at intervals by others, no doubt equally worthy of such able authors. But although some tantalizing indications of the nature of the piece were

allowed to transpire from time to time, in order to prepare the public, the secret of the plot and denouement was tolerably well kept. It was perfectly natural, and in accordance with an author's general privileges, if any one divined them, or they had been betrayed, to deny their correctness. Meanwhile, as if to hasten the work, the world was startled early in 1858, with the account of a deadly plot against the Emperor, that had only failed in the execution. It had been matured, employed its means, destroyed several lives, but missed the one life at which it aimed. It was an Italian plot, against Napoleon the 3rd, as the oppressor of Rome. The deadly instruments made use of were partly manufactured in England, and the conspirators had resided in this country. The French government in consequence demanded, that measures of unusual severity should be adopted as regards refugees in Great Britain. The French press was permitted an extreme

violence in denunciation against London, as the great refuge of murderers and assassins ; and extremely modest and flattering offers of service by French officers on the part of themselves and their regiments, to come over and chastise this nest of brigands, were inserted in the government organs. It led to the downfall of the graceful concession ministry in England, for the public pride was piqued ; as well as to the guillotining of the guilty perpetrator in Paris. Perhaps the author of the expedition to Boulogne, became sensible that the abuse by foreign refugees in England, of the privilege of asylum extended to all who may happen to be in political disfavour in their own country, was not the ground of a graceful quarrel for him to fix on England. The effervescence subsided. Mutual assurances of friendship were renewed. It had been only a lover's quarrel. But there is no truth better established, than that the words spoken in all such

disputes, though seemingly forgotten, are never really obliterated from the memory. They leave their scars. And the weapons that caused the wound of which they are the ineradicable trace, have found a storehouse for themselves in some corner of the brain.

The French military threats of chastisement, and of chastisement to be inflicted even in the very heart of the kingdom, in London itself, naturally led to an enquiry that ought to have been seriously instituted in 1852, as to whether the capital of Great Britain was really so accessible to a foreign enemy, as to remove such a menace from the category of mere bragadacio and bombast. The revelations to which these enquiries led were startling in the extreme. England had fallen from the rank of the principal naval power. Her sluggishness, the fruit of her confidence in her new friendship,—and the unintermitted activity in France, had entirely changed the naval

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status of the two countries. Instead of her fleet being equal to any combined force that could be brought against it, it had not even the effective strength of that of France alone. There is no intention to examine here the pitiable excuses made by the guilty parties in England, for a crime of such magnitude ; that not only compromised her dignity, but endangered her safety, and imperilled her very existence as an independent state. Public complaint was justly loud. Great Britain never had been, nor did she desire to become, a great military power. While she possessed an incontestable superiority on the sea, she was content to entrust her safety to the protection of her fleet. But to awake suddenly from a slumber of false security, and find that she who had never cared to retain an army of more than 50,000 men at home, had a smaller efficient naval force than her nearest neighbour, now, it was true her very good friend, but who had shewed symptoms

of having grown by repeated indulgence to be rather exacting in his friendship, who could bring 500,000 men immediately into the field, and need not stick at 1,000,000 if he required their services, was it must be confessed a very poor return to receive for the confidence and trust she had reposed in the men who ruled over her. Measures were immediately taken to recover the lost ground ; and not the less actively pursued, because of a renewal of those hospitable civilities which had been previously reciprocated.

Cherbourg, whose importance cannot well be overrated, and which when commenced was intended as a menace to England, was about to be inaugurated. The works, that had been pushed on with great vigour since the restoration of the Empire, were now complete. The Emperor thought this a fitting occasion for a friendly greeting—an amiable courtesy— a polite attention. To ordinary minds—minds of a vulgar un-imperial stamp,

it might have seemed rather a strange compliment under the circumstances ; but the Emperor desired to give a great éclat to this inauguration. Nothing could do this so effectively as the presence of the Sovereign of the so-long acknowledged mistress of the seas, with her brilliant naval retinue. He therefore sent a pressing invitation to the Queen of Great Britain, to honour the spectacle with her presence. He knew well, it was *impossible* she could decline it : that it was impossible she could evince any other feeling than one of admiration at so great and perfect a work ; and that the inauguration of Cherbourg would fix the regards of Europe when thus attended, and be memorable in the annals of the glorious reign of Napoleon the Third. It must be again remarked, it is this admirable appreciation of circumstances and events, and the purposes to which they may be made subservient, that is one of the most marked characteristics of

the Emperor ; and that if he does indeed harbour in his mind any secret ulterior hostile designs, renders him more than ordinarily dangerous ; especially, since he is not a man to be tempted from the orderly elaboration of his schemes, into a hasty betrayal of his intentions, by any accidental so-called good opportunity, that would have irresistible fascination for a man of inferior ability. If he has ulterior designs hostile to Great Britain, they are a portion of a large scheme ; their realization has its allotted place ; and nothing will tempt him to put, as it is vulgarly phrased, the cart before the horse.

He calculated well. It was a brilliant spectacle. The admirable works of the now famous port and arsenal—the fine specimens of French naval architecture—the not less superb escort of the Queen of England, and the incomparable flotilla of British yachts, were themes for every tongue and for a hun-

dred pens. Illustrated journals circulated by hundreds of thousands, pictorial records of the scene; and the prolonged thunders of the amicable artillery at Cherbourg, resounded through Europe. It was an elaborate and effective orchestral prelude, to the great piece then preparing for representation in Italy.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE *Jour de l'An* 1859, will long be remembered in the history of Europe. According to custom on the 1st of January, the Diplomatic Corps attended the Tuileries to felicitate the occupant of the Imperial Throne. All was tolerably calm in the political world. There were rather indications of clouds than actual clouds on the horizon. But on this day of friendly greetings, a sharp and sudden flash gave indication of an approaching storm. A pointedly brusque remark of the Emperor to the Austrian Ambassador, in presence of the assembled representatives of all the other powers, shewed that the Imperial and Royal authors were preparing the *mise en scene* of their splendid work.

The fêtes of Cherbourg, and the friendly unostentatious visit of the Emperor to Her Majesty at Osborne, gave to all the world an assurance, that although there might arise from time to time some little pique and jealousy between the nations, under their new position relative to each other, there was no real disagreement. Never was more judicious preparation made for the ushering in of a great event ; a preparation, that if not intentionally begun at the moment of sending the expedition to Rome, in the early days of limited presidential power, was beyond all controversy commenced with the sittings of the Conference in Paris. During the interval between that commencement and the *boutade* of the 1st of January, 1859, the French navy had been increased so disproportionately beyond what the ordinary security and service of France require, as to render it certain that no fancied enormous superiority on the part of Great Bri-

tain, would hurry her into any intemperate expression of opinion relative to the Emperor's intended action in Italy, whenever the curtain should begin to rise. The danger of complication on that side was therefore as nearly as possible removed. Great Britain had been made to concur also in the animadversions upon the several governments in Italy ; nor was it intended that a full revelation of project, should accompany the first open indications of purpose ; while Sardinia, which had become rather a pet in England during the Crimean war, was sure to enlist a certain sympathy there, because of her constitutional form of government. No such censure as that which fell upon the press of Belgium, had been allowed to fall upon that of Sardinia ; the strictures of which upon the Austrian Administration and Ducal Governments in Italy, were constant incitements to rebellion. The Protectorate of a certain Christian creed in Turkey, had been an inad-

missible pretension on the part of Russia ; but the Protectorate of an Italian political creed, was not only allowable, but most praiseworthy, on the part of Sardinia. The miasmatic swamps of Cayenne, were only the scene of a judicious, and, in the end, humane severity ; while Spielberg was an unmitigated atrocity. But, as was before observed, inconsequences are beneath the consideration of a high Imperial mind, that has determined the realization of certain projects. All that will tend to forward the immediate object in view will be availed of, without at all interfering with the most decided condemnation of the use of similar means, by any other authority, for any other purpose. There is orthodoxy and heterodoxy, in politics and in government, as well as in religion. Mine and yours, though no one else may see the distinction, are very different things in me and you.

The House of Savoy gave its Princess to

the house of Corsica. The first act of the entertainment went off capitally. There was no hitch, no pause, no relaxation of interest. On the part of the Prince, it was "veni—vidi—vici;" on that of the maiden, "willy, nilly, I must." The attention of the spectators was powerfully attracted; their excitement was raised to the highest pitch—the concentration of amicable energy, the rapidity of development, evidenced a unison of mind and purpose in the two families that, while it elicited admiration, stimulated a great expectancy. The descent of the curtain at the close of the first act, left the spectators, who were all Europe, in a state of almost breathless anticipation; for although the exhibition was momentarily closed, there was a sound of preparation that kept all eyes and ears wide open, and eagerly attentive.

In the fêtes of Cherbourg, the Emperor Napoleon III. put boldly forward his claims

of naval equality, and obtained a tacit admission of it. In the familiar, private visit to Osborne, he secured a positive and direct admission of dynastic equality. For neither of these interviews and exchanges of courtesy between the Sovereigns had anything to do with a specific alliance for any common object. They were totally dissimilar, both in their nature and significance, with those of Windsor and Paris during the Crimean war; and were a fitting prelude to a matrimonial compact, with one of the old Royal Houses of Europe. For with regard to Napoleon III. it may be received as an axiom, that no measure of his government,—no personal movement, beyond the sphere of his ordinary routine, is without some real importance in his eyes, or unconnected with some object, either avowed or secret, evident or obscure, immediate or remote. He is not an ordinary Man—and he is not always to be estimated by ordinary rules. There is no

desire here to give him any undue importance. Least of all, is there any intention to endorse those almost impious assertions of his possession of attributes quasi Divine. He is like every man, in every position, who keeps his purposes closely locked up within his own breast. But he is in a position that gives him, and to which he gives, an immense and general public importance : he is clear of head, firm in purpose, unscrupulous as to means—fertile in expedients—patient in waiting for opportunities, and able in promoting them—never leaving anything to chance that can be provided against—never in a hurry, yet always prepared for rapid-action—and ever on the watch for circumstances that may be made subservient to his purposes. But he has no extraordinary prescience, and as little inscrutability. All that is fixed in him is, his ultimate purpose ; whatever that purpose may be. And that not being revealed, he may twist and turn in

his course, go straight forward, or make long detours in his calculated approaches to it. This truth, if truth it is, may never be positively established; because where Napoleon the 3rd wills that a step he has taken shall remain unknown of, he is like a housebreaker with his shoes of felt, his steps are noiseless and traceless; but there can be little doubt, it was at his instigation that Sardinia undertook the Crimean expedition. The "motive" seemed more than obscure at the time. Not one that was advanced was adequate, or bore the stamp of reality. They were none of a character that would cause a nation to run into debt for the purpose. But the Emperor's demand that Sardinia should participate in the Conferences, and the subsequent exposé of Italian wrongs by the Count de Cavour at the sittings in Paris, seemed to point to the Emperor as the motor. What has since occurred in Italy; leaves little room for doubt on the subject.

CHAPTER XXIII.

It would be difficult perhaps to find a more incontestable proof of the superiority of Napoleon the 3rd, than exists in his admirable management of the Press in France. An ordinary man in his position, after the Coup d'État of December 1851, would either have involved himself in difficulties by attempts to conciliate it, or would have destroyed it. But the mind that comprehended the necessity of the Empire being ostensibly Peace, and determined to make a rapid development of industry and trade a means for increasing his aggressive powers, saw in the Press, not an auxiliary to be courted or an enemy to be got rid of, but a mighty engine to be employed. He at once asserted his supremacy over it; assigned such condi-

tions to its existence as did not impair its ordinary vitality or utility, while they made its life centre in him. The Empire, the Emperor, his dynasty, and his acts, were the only sacred things; with which it was not to interfere, except to glorify and to eulogise. Everything else was given up to it in the ordinary exercise of its vocation; subject to a very efficient check, should it attempt to counteract in anything the policy of the Emperor. Its duty was, to instruct and fortify the public in Imperialism. The power, the glory, the dominant influence of the Emperor and the Empire, were themes on which it could not be too eloquent — themes worthy of its highest talent. In all indifferent matters it was to be quite free; and might minister to the popular passions and prejudices, subject only to enlightenment from the Emperor as to when any matters ceased to belong to that category, and required some particular mode of treat-

ment. And it was soon understood, that diligent and unscrupulous service would find requital; that nothing really useful to the Emperor and to the Empire, according to the Government sense of utility, would be allowed to perish for want of proper support.

The development of the new system was of course gradual. And the perfection it was attaining, did not particularly excite remark. But when that odious attempt at assassination was made by Orsini and his confederates, it became very apparent. The demands of the Emperor for repressive measures in England, as regarded the foreign refugees, was so treated by the whole French Press, as to strengthen the demand by influencing the nation, exciting it against Great Britain by the most virulent abuse. And the perfect controul of the Government, became sufficiently visible during the progress of negotiations. The gale blew with

fury, or moderated, or died away in consonance with the phases of the Imperial mind, which seemed especially intent on shewing to the "good ally," that there was a powerful under current of hatred and animosity to this country in France, that the Emperor could let loose if it so pleased him; that the friendship which had existed was really on his part, not on that of the nation, which would be only too happy to wipe off its old scores against perfidious Albion, by directing the whole of its restored energies and aggressive means against her.

It was not until after the 1st January 1859, that the utility and power of this engine was fully exhibited. It was evidently determined by the supreme authority, that the aggressive principle should be allowed some indulgence. Pamphlets, newspaper articles, maps of the past, and a suppositious future Europe, succeeded with untiring rapidity. Official, quasi-official, semi-official, non-offi-

cial; authorized, unauthorized—under the inspiration of the Sovereign, and even corrected by his hand—under the inspiration of some separate Minister of State, all or any to be avowed or disavowed, acknowledged or repudiated, rewarded or warned as the Imperial interests might seem to require. And these not only for the instruction and guidance of the French people, and to stimulate and govern their opinions and passions, but for feeling the pulse of Europe—for eliciting the sentiments of other countries, and particularly of England, where a Press not nominally, but really free, soon discovers and exposes the public mind upon political questions. This was the permitted epoch of a saturnalia of projects, many of which were real projectiles for immediate employment. Everything hostile to the future peace of Europe, unless it tamely and quietly submitted to an absolute French supremacy, was mooted. Every French pretension was

revived. The Emperor, who had inaugurated this carnival of projects and ideas, and memories and hopes—the presiding Divinity, the real disturbing Cause, seemed to be the only embodiment of the principle of order amid the chaos. His words were waited for as the *fiat* of Fate. And only that they were ever so ambiguous, so indefinite, so open to many and all of them justifiable interpretations, they were indeed moderate. There were disturbing causes in Italy arising out of the undue predominance, and misgovernment of Austria in Italy, that caused him serious apprehensions, and had undoubtedly influenced in the personal danger he had incurred. All that he desired was, that these things should be remedied. He was not making any preparations for hostilities. Nothing could be more pacific than his intentions. But there were certain things he could not permit. He would not allow Sardinia to be restrained or fettered

in her exciting action among the Italian populations, unless all the abuses of which she complained in Italy, were removed. He was ready to concur with all the great powers in this work. He was open to any and every proposition. He gave a ready assent to all proposed means of arrangement; only when they had been instrumental in procuring a certain delay, he neutralized all the efforts of a laborious and anxious diplomacy by some calculated inadmissible pretension. The most active preparations were making for a campaign; but all was secret; and all so done, that the object could be, as it was, denied, even in the face of evidence of intention the most conclusive. And so adroitly was all managed, that when the time for action was at hand, Austria, the power to be despoiled, and that having nothing it could possibly *gain* in a war, was truly desirous of peace, was irritated into becoming the aggressor, and

incurring, by that effort at self-preservation, the condemnation of public opinion throughout Europe. The Government of Sardinia, acting evidently under the inspiration of that of the Tuileries, played over again the game so successfully adopted by Turkey in 1853. She had secured the co-operation of France, and now she would accept no advice, she would admit of no control. All the moderate inspirations and recommendations of the pacific Napoleon, were slighted and disregarded. Like Turkey, she was troubled by an antagonist with whom she could not cope unaided; and now, having secured the assistance of an ally whose power was quite equal to the emergency, she had no intention of favouring a pacific solution. The evils of which she complained in Italy, could be satisfactorily removed only in one way — by the entire destruction of Austrian power and influence throughout the Peninsula, and the transfer

of territory, and control of opinion and action, to her. The violence of the Press, therefore, increased. Under its action the enthusiasm of the people augmented. While the Press preached desertion to the Italians in the Austrian army, and a general Italian crusade, the Government organized the deserters and the volunteers in battalions, to be employed against Austria. And the latter, perceiving that the diplomacy of Europe was vainly endeavouring to hold an eel in its grasp without the aid of sand, relieved it from its ridiculous though well-intentioned efforts, by sending her vanguard across the Ticino, into the Sardinian territory. The slippery eel became in a moment the boa-constrictor, whose pressure should crush every bone of Austrian power in Italy.

CHAPTER XXIV.

AND the Emperor Napoleon ! How deeply he regretted this appeal to arms, for which he was totally unprepared, when all might have had a pacific solution, if a Congress could but have been got together ! By some happy accident, however, he did happen to have a few hundred pieces of rifled artillery ready, the produce of some little experiments he had been making to relieve the ennui of peace, but without the slightest idea of ever having to employ them against his cousin of Austria. The Italian campaign is too recent, and every particular connected with the military operations has been too minutely described and detailed, to render more than a mere allusion to it necessary here. Not even a transient gleam of

success lighted on the arms of Austria. Her troops fought well; but her generals eclipsed the reputation of former Austrian generals for imbecility, though that was rather a difficult task to accomplish, where specimens had been so numerous and so perfect. The Austrian illusion and delusion, was rapidly destroyed. Victory, as of old, followed the French standards, borne by troops unsurpassed in Europe, and admirably commanded. The short campaign closed with the brilliant victory of Solferino; and the truce and provisional treaty of Villafranca.

It was not only on the line of march of the French army, that important results were obtained. Scarcely had the vanguard of the Emperor Napoleon III. crossed the Alps and disembarked at Genoa, before Parma, Modena and Tuscany, threw off the yoke of their ducal rulers. Austria recalled her garrisons from Ancona, Ferrara, and Bologna, and the Romagna was no sooner

freed from this restraint, than she declared her severance from the Papal see. The cousin of the Emperor, another Napoleon in name, husband of the young Princess of Savoy, who "married for an idea," had been sent into Tuscany with a corps which was to incorporate the Italian troops and volunteers, and operate on the flank of the Austrian army. He declared repeatedly he was not seeking a crown; and the Florentines, with stupid and perverse faith, took him at his word, and would not offer him one, though he tarried so long in hopeful expectation, that it was only by most strenuous and almost incredible efforts, he managed to open a communication with the main army, shortly after the final victory of Solferino. The victory of Solferino! The treaty of Villafranca! How few men after such a victory, would have been able, undazzled by success, undeterred by the sarcasms and reproaches that might be levelled at him, for stopping

short in the great work he had announced, "the Alps to the Adriatic," have been able to take so just a view of his position as to enter into those stipulations. The mere general would have thought of nothing but following up so great a success by fresh feats of arms. But the astute monarch saw at once, by a rapid effort of mind, the immensely superior advantages to be obtained by closing the campaign and the war, without his arms having received one check, been delayed by any obstacle, or failed in reaping a harvest of laurels on any field. Immense glory had been achieved. The French army was now indeed as much his own, as any French army had ever been his uncle's. His name was associated as General with a brilliant Campaign. What had been done was sufficient to render the speedy realization of the entire programme inevitable, without sitting down now to the siege of fortified places. By effecting a present arrangement, he would

THAT COURAGE BEGETH IN THE SITUATION. HE WOULD HAVE THE COMMISSIONERS THAT WERE INTERESTED IN THE RUSSIAN INTEREST. HE WOULD HAVE THEM TO HIS MODERATION. HE MUST HAVE HIM WHO WAS ASKING ALL THE QUESTIONS OF A GREAT INTEREST, WHO HAD EMPLOYED HIS POWER IN THE INTEREST OF THE RUSSIAN CAUSE, WITHOUT ANY THOUGHT OF PERSONAL OR NATIONAL ACCOMPLISHMENTS. HE COULD PLACE HIMSELF IN THE BEYOND POSITION OF THE CHRISTIANITY, LITERATURE OF ENLIGHTENED NATIONS—THE GREAT INTEREST, WHO WITH HIS MAGNANIMOUS BEQUEST, WAS HIMSELF CAPABLE OF FIGHTING FOR CAUSE.

HAVING POSSESSED THE UNRIVALLED GLORY, THE ADVANTAGES, THE POWER, THE PRESTIGE, THE PERMANENT POLITICAL INFLUENCE, TO BE SECURED AND OBTAINED BY SUCH A SOLUTION, HE DID NOT ALLOW ANY PALTRY QUESTION OF ETIQUETTE TO INTERFERE WITH ITS REALIZATION. THE TRUMP CARD WAS IN HIS HAND; HE PLAYED IT. HE MADE THE FIRST ADVANCES TO THE EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA.

A meeting was soon arranged. The antagonists greeted with mutual demonstrations of respect. Unattended by ministers or secretaries, in the privacy of an apartment, the approaches to which were well guarded, the two Sovereigns discussed the past, the present and the future. It is said, the Emperor of Austria was deceived by some communication then made to him relative to Prussia. It seems to have been scarcely worth while for Napoleon to resort to such means. The necessities of the Austrian Emperor's position, and the undoubted superiority of Napoleon III. in any such personal interview, with hints or promises of future compensation elsewhere, are quite sufficient to account for everything the Treaty did and did not contain. And such hints of promises need not have been very definite. "In certain eventualities which are inevitable, certain changes must take place." This would be quite sufficient. Drowning men catch at

straws. The Austrian army was in a state of thorough demoralization, not so much from its defeats, as from the cause of them, the want of ability in the Commanders. Even the brilliant reputation of Baron Hess, was proved to have been an unsubstantial bubble, and had burst. And indeed the terms offered by Napoleon, were such as Francis Joseph, who had not talent to perceive *their* "*inevitable result*," no doubt thought very advantageous; and rather flattering as an admission of his power to retain what he still held. It would look to the eyes of all Europe, as if the French Emperor had said, "You cannot retake Lombardy from me, I cannot take Venetia from you—let us settle upon that basis." This was gratifying to the amour propre of a vanquished monarch and army; who might also hope to retain a preponderating influence in Italy, through the new organization prepared for it, to which he acceded; while the Emperor of the French

was pledged to use his *good offices*, for the restoration of the despoiled Dukes. There was to be no coercion,—but still, the Austrian Emperor no doubt believed that the persuasions of such a man must prevail. And he signed the provisional Treaty that extinguished for ever Austrian influence in Italy ; that rendered Venetia untenable, and its cession only a question of time and manner ; that must infallibly throw *all Italy* into the lap of the hated sovereign of Sardinia, with the exception of a Holy City, the guaranteed residence of the Head of the Roman Catholic Church, always to be garrisoned by French troops—and that established on a firm and secure basis, not the preponderance of French influence in Italy, for there would be no competitor — but the absolute influence of France over the whole Peninsula. All Italy, with the exception of the City of Rome, Civita Vecchia, and the course of the Tiber between them, must henceforth depend upon

Sardinia ; and Sardinia, must for ever depend upon, and be subservient to the Emperor of the French.

CHAPTER XXV.

NAPOLEON the Third returned to Paris, within the time assigned on leaving it, a brilliant conqueror ; with renown as a commander ; environed with the glory that he claimed for himself and his people, of having generously and nobly “combated for an idea.” The Emperor knows well the value of a phrase. High sounding and vague, it may be marvellous in its power and influence. France had chastised another of the “armies of occupation” that had dared to pollute the French soil, and give their edicts in Paris in 1815. She seemed a little disposed to think she ought to have had something real and tangible ;—but there was a great deal of glory, and she had wiped off another reproach from herself and her Em-

perors. She was exasperated too against Prussia, who had insulted her anew by her armaments. It was as well, therefore, to have her Emperor back with the flower of his victorious army. And the equanimity of her Emperor amid the sarcasms and reproaches with which some endeavoured to tarnish his glory, inspired her with new confidence. "Where was the freedom of Italy from the Alps to the Adriatic?" He was afraid to attack the "Quadrilateral." The Emperor had but one reply. France had combated for an idea; and had the right to leave off when she was satisfied with what had been done. She had given Lombardy and Parma to Sardinia. Tuscany, Modena, and the Romagna were masters of their own destinies, subject always of course to the approval of Napoleon. The Emperor did not condescend to point out how the treaty must necessarily work, any more than that the idea enfolded substantial, as well as

moral and political results. He sets himself up as a God, to be believed in. He does not want to be comprehended. He is far above that. That would indicate something like equality. What comprehends, must resemble in powers. He is supreme and alone on earth. A very triton among the minnows. A something that challenges faith; and that is resolved to justify it. He never desires that the full blaze of even his realized conceptions should burst forth at once upon the sight of Europe. And why? Because he has greater conceptions yet to realize. His policy has always been, while making the most alarming preparations, to restrain general apprehension within the point at which it might become general organized resistance. He has read the fable of the bundle of sticks politically. Napoleon I. would have essayed to break them all together. Napoleon III. knows better. He takes them one by one. There is less dan-

ger ; more gratification ; some certain, and a possibility or even probability of entire success. When not understood, he can therefore afford to wait for his justification. Meanwhile he has the Divine attribute of "Inscrutable;" and later he is "Infallible." This results from keeping his secrets ; and a nice adaptation of means to end, and end to means. While all his success is based upon his having from the very advent of even his limited power in the first Presidency, comprehended one great truth, and shaped his course by the light of it : That there could be no effective combination in Europe unless either England or France was a party in it. To neutralize England, was therefore to command, to dominate, to dispose of Europe. He enlisted the power of England against Russia,—the sympathies of England for Italy against Austria. He has drawn from her unbroken friendship, new elements of strength against all others ; and the encour-

ragement and permission to make himself as strong as may be possible against her. Thus he now stands before the eyes of Europe, a Colossus, who if he reflects the sun from his brazen face on any land brings to it summer and joy, but if he cast his prodigious shadow over it, plunges it into a winter of discontent and gloom. Had the suggestion of installing such a power in Europe been made, those who have most lent their hands to the work, would have pronounced any alternative to be preferable.

As all eyes and minds had been directed toward Italy while Napoleon the 3rd was there, so did Paris and Italy continue to attract them. The Emperor was and is the centre of all regards. Zurich, where the peace was to be concluded, was scarcely thought of; the mere formalization of the agreement entered into by the two Emperors was of little moment. Napoleon was supposed to have views for his cousin in

Central Italy. How far would he go in his endeavours to make these prevail? He was supposed to be jealous of Sardinian extension beyond Lombardy. How far would he go in his efforts to restrain it? He is never without some problem for Europe to solve. He never has allowed, nor ever will allow the interest he has excited to flag. To the very end of the chapter it will continue to be—what next? He speculates largely on the ignorance and fatuity of mankind. It is not alone the whale that will amuse itself with a tub thrown to it. And the Emperor will always have one to drop overboard. He perceived that no one comprehended the inevitable results of the Treaty of Villafranca. Italy does not comprehend its future subjection to French influence, whether in two or three states or united under one head, when the Austrian has entirely disappeared. The Emperor saw the delusion, and enlisted it. It soon became a

settled idea, not only among the people of many nations, but among statesmen and diplomatists, that he had overreached himself. There could be no doubt,—he was jealous! of the growing power of Sardinia. He humoured this—it answered his purpose in every way. It flattered the amour propre, not only of Sardinia, but of all the Italians. The more reserved, therefore, he became about the future of Italy, the more ardently they would endeavour to realize what he evidently disliked, and feared! It caused English statesmen to express their sympathy with the Italian movement without reserve; and even those who most distrust him, to applaud what he has done for Italy. It enables him to retain the mastery of the position. He only tolerates, he does not sanction or approve. He is continually looked to for fresh crumbs of concession. He would only tolerate the union of Tuscany, upon the condition that it should

preserve the autonomy of its administration. The door is thus kept open for any pretensions he may choose to make. Oh, it is a great Emperor; and he has fallen upon an age of little men.

The Italian campaign was followed by an increased instead of diminished activity in the French dock-yards and naval arsenals. Was Great Britain making strenuous efforts to regain her lost position, the Emperor seemed determined also to maintain the advantage or the equality he had obtained. A change in the armament of his vessels is hastened. Rifled cannon replace the old guns. Steel and iron ships of new construction, and of great supposed destructive power are ordered, and the work is pushed forward with increasing vigour. But it is all denied. All that is doing is only the ordinary routine work of necessary renewals, changing the obsolete sailing vessels into screws—and some scientific experiments. And is not the

Emperor again an active ally? Is not a joint expedition against China preparing? It is very satisfactory; only, Great Britain must augment her Naval Estimates. But friendship often necessitates greater sacrifices than enmity.

CHAPTER XXVI.

WITH what a mixture of curiosity and apprehension, the world watched and waited for the receptions of the Jour de l'An 1860, at the Tuileries. But all was calm and peace. Atlas stood firmly; and the earth was not shaken. But still rumour's tongue became busy. It affirmed, that what had been more than once conjectured and denied was true—there were one or two little facts—realities—in the *idea* for which France and the Emperor did combat. Savoy and Nice were to be transferred to France. The Emperor was appealed to. His answer was ambiguous. But nothing should be done without consulting the European powers. And, moreover, the Emperor expressed his readiness to enter into a treaty of commerce

with Great Britain. England is only too ready to accede to anything that looks like a guarantee of peace. A treaty is agreed upon. It is ratified. It is presented to the British Parliament and pressed upon its immediate adoption. Questions are asked about Savoy and Nice, but they are satisfactorily answered by repeating the assurances of the Emperor. All is accomplished. What next? Why, within a few days, deputations from Savoy and Nice make their appearance in Paris, beseeching that France will deign to receive those territories into her empire. Here was an embroglio. After the Emperor's assurances too! But principle: there is nothing like an inflexible adherence to principle, whatever contradictions it may involve. *Vox Populi, vox Dei*. The Emperor had acknowledged this as regarded France. It was thus he became Emperor. Sardinia had insisted upon this, and the Emperor had admitted it as regarded Lom-

bardy, which thus became united with Piedmont. Napoleon had respected it, and submitted to it when it counteracted his plans, destroyed his hopes, and denied his desires. Thus he allowed Tuscany and other provinces to rob his cousin of a crown. How, then, could he be called upon to reject its application when in his favour? What had Nice and Savoy done that their desires alone should be disregarded? But there should be no mistake. There must be a clear vote in his favour by the populations. This was obtained. The Emperor accepted the gift. The King of Sardinia acceded under pressure, actuated by feelings of gratitude and esteem, as well as respect for popular will. But it must be sanctioned by the Sardinian Legislature. There was some opposition: but it was explained that it was a forced voluntary gift. The Emperor was entitled to Sardinian gratitude. The Emperor, if he permitted the conditional union of Tus-

any with Sardinia, must have some counterpoise to the enormous aggrandisement and increase of power by Sardinia. Lord of the destinies of Italy, he has a right to dictate its disposal. Happy Sardinia, to have had such a friend, and to possess the power of obliging him. Savoy and Nice were ceded, and reunited to the French empire. Happy Sardinia! to have still some pretty things left to give for further permitted aggrandizement.

But was nothing said to the Emperor about his assurances? And were the European powers consulted? Yes, and, No. The Emperor was reminded, and he would do what he had said. Only there was a misconception as to his intentions. So soon as all was definitively arranged, he would submit all the documents and facts to a Congress if it was so wished, only, it must be understood, that it must be treated as 'un fait accompli'—irrevocable. The Em-

peror evidently considers a Congress of all the powers, as a court for registering his acts—nothing more. If this be not an assertion of supremacy in Europe, it is so like it, that there can at most be only a distinction without a difference. And if the powers accept a Conference on such terms, they again indorse all his pretensions.

But were Savoy and Nice worth fighting about? Certainly not. Since the extraordinary development of naval power in France, and the facilities of maritime transport created by steam as now applied, those points have lost all strategical importance. But independent of this, on what ground could Europe array itself in hostility against France for accepting a territory voluntarily ceded to it by Sardinia? Would Great Britain consider Europe justified in arraying itself against him if she chose, as a mark of her affection, to make a present of Jersey and Guernsey to the Emperor, with the consent,

however obtained, of their population? Certainly not. Switzerland protested energetically, as well she might; for as regards any importance she will henceforth possess, it is as if she were wiped out of the map of Europe. But she has played her part. She is reaping the harvest of that disgraceful seed she so plentifully sowed, in allowing her children to uphold, as soldiers, every debased Italian despotism. She has fulfilled her allotted task. Her aid is no longer necessary. No guardian can be needed where there is nothing to keep. Italy has with almost universal applause been subjected entirely henceforth to French influence, France has assumed the Protectorate, and she will keep it. It may be well for the repose of Europe, and particularly advantageous to Great Britain. Let it be hoped so. The world will have good opportunity of judging, and ample data, within a very few years. Some people object to the mode in

which it has been accomplished. It is perfectly understood, that before the Emperor committed himself to any Italian interference, he stipulated for a cession of Savoy and Nice in return for Lombardy, which he would wrest from Austria for Sardinia. They say, that with such an understanding between him and Victor Emanuel, it was not likely he would allow that territory to escape him, by any pacific arrangement between Sardinia and Austria. That in accepting the good offices of England, assenting to Lord Cowley's journey to Vienna, and negotiation with the Austrian cabinet, and consenting to the Russian proposal of a Congress, etc. etc. he was preparing a very ridiculous page in history for all the other great powers, especially for Great Britain, and diverting himself with a most amusing farce at their expense. And what then? Are not the inferior and subordinate things in this world, made for the enjoyment of the superior and

supreme? When they placed him on that lofty pedestal after the close of the Crimean war, and enveloped him in such rich clouds of incense, were they the fools to suppose he would voluntarily descend from it, and really ever again look upon them as his equals? Why should he take them into his counsels? That they might oppose him in a matter he had fully determined, in virtue of his high position, should only be settled in one way? Why this might have plunged Europe into a war. How could he then have had Austria irritated into incurring the animadversions of the would-be pacificators? How could he and France have had the glory of fighting for an idea? To have openly avowed, I intend doing so and so; I intend having so and so; and the inevitable ultimate result as regards French influence in Italy, will be so and so, would have been a challenge to all Europe? And from him? How inconsistent! *L'Empire c'est la paix.* He could there-

fore only interfere in Italy because the state of the Peninsula endangered the peace of Europe. And what right has any one to ask the great conspirator of the 2nd of December to be a straightforward, honest man?

CHAPTER XXVII.

It would be absurd to hesitate about confessing a truth so evident, as the actual supremacy of Napoleon III. and the French Empire in Europe. Upon whom are all eyes fixed? Whose are the motions all are watching? Whose the intentions all are seeking to divine? Is there any one else than Napoleon the Third, who seems to be considered worthy of more than a mere passing thought? And with what sentiments and feelings is he regarded, watched, and inquired into? Is it with the complacent scrutiny of conscious strength, and dignified confidence, that while desiring to avoid seeing cause of intentional offence, if possible, is yet firmly resolved to oppose all purposed wrong? Is it not rather,

supposing those feeble creatures to possess reasoning powers, and to be endued with the consciousness that they have been bred and fattened but to be eaten, as the sheep in a pen would regard and watch, and strive to divine the thoughts of the butcher, as he leaned over the hurdle, and passed them in review? Do they not exhibit just such an inquietude as would there appear, huddling together, thrusting themselves under and jumping over one another, each anxious to avoid a too particular scrutiny, a too flattering attention; and each prepared to be satisfied, provided the selected victim be some other, not himself? Does not this constitute a supremacy? And can this be denied? Look to Baden at this moment. Who are all those who crowd to the levee of the Victor of Solferino, the Annexer of Nice and Savoy, —the issuer of that significant dispatch, “The sixth military division will continue as “at present, while the frontiers remain un-

"changed?" Are they not tributary kings come to do homage for their thrones; beggars for a look, suppliants for a smile, deprecators of wrath, worshippers of the great image that Europe hath set up? Have they not all come to read, if possible, the mind of that arbitrer of fate? Partly deceived by their hereditary ignorance, into the belief that their fatuity is a match for his sagacity;—partly drawn by the fear that absence might give offence,—and partly by that extraordinary species of fascination exercised by one of the most deadly of the serpent race, over the birds and beasts on which he fixes his gaze! Do they believe him to be an Arab, and fancy all that is necessary to their safety, is to be able to thrust their thumbs into his salt-cellar? Such a "pray don't eat me" exhibition has not been witnessed since the ever memorable days of Jack the Giant-Killer! What a pity he is nominally a Christian, and not a

Grand Sultan, with an unlimited matrimonial power. The smallest Court in Germany turned its nose up at him ten years ago, and now he might clear off the whole race of German Princesses into his harem. They would all be glad to give their most delicate flesh to him, even were he an ogre, so that they might save their lands and dignities! Dignities, forsooth! or have they consulted with some Delilah, and been told to bind him with the green withs and new cords of obsequious courtesies? Perhaps. But if so, they will do well not to say, "The Philistines be upon thee, Samson," until they have shaved off his locks of strength. And where is the European razor or the hand, to do this? Why, every single hair has now become like the chain cable of a first-rate. And if the future steps of his vast ambition be governed by the same faultless prudence, sagacity and boldness that have hitherto attended every one, there is no instrument, no arm,

but that of the One to whom the geatest of the earth is but as the small dust in the balance, that may be able to effect it.

But why is he at Baden? As he has no confidants, no one has even pretended to betray his secret. The ostensible, enunciated motive is that he may remove those unfounded suspicions Germany has for some time past entertained as to his designs. How they are to be dissipated by any smiles or assurances on the part of a person whom no one now believes, it is hard to conjecture. The ostensible with Napoleon III. is far from being necessarily the real. Nor is it necessarily the reverse. There cannot be a greater mistake than to suppose, that because the false, the specious, the subtle, the deceptive, may be the general rule of any man's conduct, he therefore never acts in good faith, openly and straightforwardly, and without *arriere pensée*. But it must be confessed it is difficult for him to do so; and it is never

likely, except in very ordinary affairs; or where his interest is directly concerned in so doing. But how has this Baden gathering come about?—this improvised Congress, as it is called; this “Congress of Kings and Sovereign Dukes,” to quote the language of the Paris Correspondent of a London Journal, “that only recalls the attendance of Sovereigns upon Napoleon I. at Erfurth by the force of contrast, the Emperor’s Star being then at its culminating point,” (which that of Napoleon III. of course is not.) “This assembly of crowned heads will be a cordial meeting of recognised equals; invited to co-operate in the preservation of peace and the extinction of war through common counsel on all occasions of pressing danger. There will be a conquest effected on the Rhine, more precious than the addition of a province to the Empire. It will be a conquest over unreasonable apprehensions, and ill-founded distrust, and an alliance offensive

and defensive against absurd and prejudicial antipathies." Any one who can receive this may believe in Lord Burleigh's significant shake of the head. Such trash is only quoted to shew what impression there is a desire to produce. It causes suspicion, when the peace trumpet is blown so violently by order of the Emperor. But again, how has this Baden gathering come about? How has it been preluded and accompanied? Right or wrong, Germany has taken it into its head that the Emperor has views in that direction, the prosecution of which might bring about great changes. There has been some rather direct speaking on the subject in the Prussian Chambers; and rather considerable sums for that country, almost unanimously voted for military preparations. In the month of May there is great publicity given to possession obtained through some creditable means, by the Emperor, of a pretended letter from the Prince Regent of Prussia, to the Prince

Donsort of England, in which such views as above alluded to were mentioned.

This of course was something the Emperor had just cause to complain of. No one has a right to suspect Napoleon III. It at least shewed the advisability of a personal interview, in which all misunderstanding might be removed. The Emperor is great in personal interviews. The Prince Regent proposed approaching the borders of France. The Emperor would be happy to avail himself of that occasion for a friendly greeting. The day was fixed for the 15th of June. And now the genius of the Emperor found a fair field for its peculiar display. He appointed the 14th of June, for the definitive reception of Savoy and Nice into the French Empire. That unique event, the peaceful acquisition of territory with nearly one million inhabitants—a present from a grateful neighbour—a voluntary testimonial to the Champion of an “Idea,” should be fêted,

be illustrated by pomp and ceremony, and a brilliant spectacle. Before going to Germany, it will be as well to shew that an extension of territory, is really popular in France. The National Guards of Paris shall be called out for the first time since the era of the Republic, to testify to Parisian joy. The day arrives. A grand Te Deum is performed. Forty or fifty thousand regular troops, and fifteen thousand National Guards are reviewed by the Emperor, amid vociferous plaudits for him, for Italy, for the annexation of the new provinces. The National Guards, the people are in ecstasies; and enveloped with a dense cloud of aggressive incense, Napoleon III. steps into his carriage, and is whirled off to Baden!

And this is called a grand pacific demonstration, as prelude to a great pacific meeting. There are many reasons why Savoy and Nice should have desired incorporation with France. Their material interests in-

duced this. And what are constitutional privileges in comparison ! Those countries may too, become much more happy and prosperous. It is not a small misfortune, that indisputably beneficial local changes, may accompany the realization of the desires of personal, dynastic, and national ambition. But though the cession of Savoy and Nice may be cloaked with an abundance of fine phrases, they are as absolutely a conquest, as if France had made war upon Sardinia to obtain them. Instead of which, she makes war upon Austria, strips her of territory, hands that over to Sardinia, and receives Savoy and Nice instead. Those territories are the fruit of a successful campaign. They are the facts, the basis of the idea, for which Magenta and Solferino were fought. To call it a peaceful acquisition of territory, is further to insult humiliated Europe, by asking it to believe one of the most transparent of transparent lies.

Yet it is surrounded with the Aureole of this eminently pacific transaction, that Napoleon III. goes to re-assure Germany, that he is the last man on earth to desire Military Conquests ; or commit the slightest infraction of the Tenth Commandment.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

“THE name you have established, the deeds you have achieved, and the part you have sustained in Europe, preclude you from a second place among the nations; and whenever you cease to be the first, you are nothing.” These noble words, expressing a profound truth, are Grattan’s. The position of Continental Europe, in face of this resuscitated Buonapartism—this concentrated unity of Democratic power — this embodiment of the Aggressive principle, that from the first has aimed at an entire supremacy and at territorial extension, is full of difficulty and peril. The position of Great Britain with regard to it is one of great embarrassment.

With the difficulties and perils of the Continental Courts as such, no true Englishman cares to interfere. The disgusting despotism that has run riot over Europe since 1815, has alienated the British heart. There is no reverse can happen to the reigning families, that as a general rule, they have not richly merited. Perjured confiscators of human liberties, they deserve to perish amid the comparative prostration they have caused. They thought the French eagle was interred at St. Helena; that there was no Buonaparte to resuscitate Buonapartism, without which an outbreak of Republican energy would achieve no permanent results—and they revelled with an infernal insulting glee, over the depressed energies of their people. The bright and glorious light of English constitutional freedom was hateful in their eyes; they loathed it; and had their power been upon a par with their idiotic will, they would have endeavoured to ex-

tinguish it. There is no sympathy with them in the breasts of the free people of England.

Even when Buonapartism did reappear victorious in the Coup d'Etat of 2nd December, it was not understood. Despotism, far from feeling that it was tottering in the presence of the resuscitated Hercules, was inclined to hail it as a kindred spirit. It had already, when giving the first faint signs of life, restored a tyranny. It had not the sense to perceive that was a special one—a sacerdotal—and that in restoring and supporting it, a wedge that might rend Italy, was inserted in the very centre. On the day of the inauguration of the ten years Presidency, the 1st January 1852, the Austrian Emperor gave his proof that vileness remained unchanged, by abrogating in an Imperial decree, the Constitution of the 4th March 1849. Despotism lifted up its head everywhere. It forgot that, although itself

a despotism, to prey upon other less vigorous despotisms, was a necessary condition of the existence of Buonapartism. It hailed the great stranger who could extinguish the flames in all the Royal Palaces of Lilliput; not considering that the Royal inmates might be drowned in the operation, and their palaces swept away by the flood. No: there is no sympathy with them in the breasts of the free people of England.

But Great Britain—in what consists her embarrassment? and how has it progressed to become so painful?

It has been already said she “sinned in a cordiality and in felicitations that should not have been paraded by, or emanated from her Government, after the scenes of violence and blood enacted in Paris on the 2nd December.” But the commencement of her embarrassment may be with more exactitude, placed at the period of the French expedition to Rome, for the suppression of

the Republic there, and the restoration of the Pope.

She had forgotten that great truth enunciated by Grattan. She was false to her position. She was false to her principles.

May God grant that so great a dereliction, did not mark the culminating point in her glorious existence.

A nation that is raised by God to such a position as she occupied among the powers of the earth, is charged with important duties, and placed under heavy responsibilities. Nor can she fail in the one, or slight the other with impunity. A very mustard-seed among the nations, she was raised up to be a tree in whose branches the birds of the air might come and lodge. Such a nation is not created for herself alone. Her first duty, therefore, is a most jealous and watchful preservation of her position; a steady, open, bold, consistent adherence to her principles; and not to do or omit any-

thing, the doing or omitting of which may be construed as, or involve, a virtual abandonment of either the one or the other.

A regulated popular liberty, has been for many ages the vital principle of her existence. Its conquests over contending individual and caste influences, were slow but certain, because these were made by it accessories in its development. In all the amalgamated races of which she was composed, there was a strong, inherent, ineradicable love of Freedom that eventually triumphed *for all*, freeing itself alike from feudal, sacerdotal and royal tyranny. And as freedom triumphed, she became great. The hand of God was visible in the progress of her existence. The vanity and lust of one of her monarchs, the most despotic in his tendencies, were made instruments for freeing her from Romish sacerdotal tyranny. She became the appointed guardian of the Word of God then restored to the people.

She was strengthened for the work she had to perform, and became a secure asylum for the persecuted champions and adherents of Religious and Civil Liberty, throughout the world.

In her protracted struggle with Napoleon I., she was true to her position, and not radically false to her principles. Wherever her influence could be made to prevail with regard to internal administration, she sought to promote regulated popular liberty. What she opposed in Napoleon I. was not liberty, but a vigorous despotism that aimed at universal subjugation. It only differed from the others in that it was an enlightened, active, energetic despotism—a concentration of all the energies of the nation for internal progress, as well as for external influence and aggression, in the hands of a man of consummate ability in organization, in administration, in aiding the development of the national resources,

as well as in the management and conduct of armies. But although she was not false to her principles in what she did, she was in what she omitted. She was the necessary head of every continental league, against the insatiable ambition of the Empire. They had no hope of success without her. Under such circumstances, it was her most sacred duty, in every treaty of alliance, to impose as a condition of her aid, the establishment of constitutional freedom, of entire religious liberty, and the free circulation of the Word God, in the dominions of her allies. She was false, flagrantly false, to her principles; most sinfully remiss in the performance of her duty, in omitting this. And although true to it in the struggle itself, she became thus false to her position also, in the conduct of it. She might have attained a pinnacle of greatness such as the world had never beheld—and now never will behold. It may be said, the restored and delivered Sovereigns

would not have fulfilled it; but then, she would have been justified in using every means of compulsion. And her means were great—they were even adequate to a complete emancipation of Europe from the slavish thralldom of soul and body, to which by her neglect of duty, she consigned it. She would not then, have had to complain of waning influence after the war; her representations would not then, have been treated with contempt.

She ought to have opposed the French intervention at Rome. She ought never to have allowed it to take place. It was an unmistakeable evidence of the aggressive principle in action, following immediately on the installation of a Buonaparte. The sacerdotal throne was nothing to her. The liberty of peoples should have been held sacred. She would not have assented to any armed intervention of Austria, Russia, and Prussia, to put down the Republic in France, and

restore Louis Philippe — why should she allow Rome, to be thrust again under the galling and debasing yoke of priestly tyranny? She was false to her principles, position, and duty. Her punishment was certain.

CHAPTER XXIX.

WHEN Buonapartism freed itself from its Republican bandages, leaped from out its swaddling clothes, and stood bold, erect, defiant, over the ruins of the National Legislature, and the blood-stained streets of Paris, then at least there could have been no doubt of its complete resuscitation ; of the re-embodiment of the aggressive principle. What, then, was the duty of Great Britain ? If she evinced any sympathies, should they not have been in favour of a destroyed national representation ? That, at least, contained the elements of freedom ; while what had destroyed it, contained as unmistakeably the elements of a vigorous aggressive despotism. If it be consonant with her principles, and therefore her duty in the event of a popular

victory over despotism, to strengthen the hands of struggling liberty by an immediate acknowledgment of the 'fait accompli,' it is not less so that she should be slow and deliberate in recognizing the triumph of despotism over liberty. But whatever the feeling of her people, her Government hastened—really hastened, to grasp with friendly warmth, the blood-stained hand of the immolator of the Republic. *Facilis descensus averni*. She was in an evil way, and her declension was rapid. She has nothing to do with the form of government the French or any other people may choose to adopt. The Coup d'Etat being a complete success, and accepted as such by the French, it was her duty to acknowledge the new order of things. But there is an immeasurable, as there was in this case an almost fatal difference, between a mere loyal acknowledgment, and a friendly congratulation.

The reappearing Empire, that she had

last saluted on the field of Waterloo, should have been met with a cold polite bow, not with a cordial welcome. The latter was a lasting disgrace to England. It was a repudiation of her principles, to conciliate an ancient foe. It begged his pardon for the mistake at Waterloo, and hoped he would forgive and forget it. It was therefore a grievous descent in position. And these involved an immediate and permanent failure in duty ; which was, to watch it closely, and to check in a friendly, but firm and resolute manner, the earliest tendencies toward a development of aggressive means, which in the then existing state of Europe, could be motivated only by one object.

But it seemed as if the Guardian Angel of England had abandoned her councils. Her Government had but one fear, and that was, of offending Buonapartism. It might well have said, " When you were last here, your existence was irreconcilable with the

peace of Europe. We have no objection to you—we respect the will of France. But we must have peace. The only guarantee of this, is a non-increase of armaments except by mutual agreement. We neither want war, nor a warlike peace establishment. Let us see what stipulations can be made.” But no. By its acts, it admitted in Buonapartism an indefeasible right, to develop its means of aggression; or acknowledged its inability to prevent its so doing; and set about seeing what was necessary to its own defence; absolutely, to preserve its existence and independence. What a humiliating spectacle. Great Britain saying to the astonished world, “I have *no* power now to take the bull by the horns, I must even hang on to his tail; and allow myself to be dragged along by him.” And there she still hangs, soiled, debased, degraded; for some time past evidently unwilling and full of distrust; making efforts to obtain a secure hold for

her feet that she may stay his progress ; and as constantly recommencing her fatal course.

She looked to her means of defence. And now say if her Guardian Angel had not deserted her councils. When she was jealous for her liberties—while hedging round individual liberty with every possible safeguard, she asserted the superior claim of the nation over the individual ; and that for the protection of her soil, she could command the service of such a portion of her population, as it might appear desirable to employ. Now, while admitting the possibility of danger, she repudiated this claim. Both parties in her Legislature, placed the individual above the nation. She abrogated her old Militia laws. The Militia for home defence, like the regular army for general service, should rely upon volunteers. No man was bound to defend his country, unless it were his sovereign will and pleasure so to do. Ano-

ther unmistakeable evidence of national declension.

No wonder then, that on the return to power at the close of 1852, of those who had been the acting instruments in Great Britain's fatal abandonment of principle and position, and her neglect of duty, their influence should gradually prevail; and the fatal course of error be resumed. The acting instruments. For a free country, with a free press, cannot be betrayed by those she places in and over her councils. If she be true to herself, they are true. At the close of 1852, she gave her deliberate assent to all that they had done, by reinstating them. And when they, gradually overpowering their associates in council, opened to her the delicious prospect of a famous gallop at the bull's tail, if she would only abandon her momentary apprehensions and hold on with a good will—oh—she went with them heart and soul.

Had not her Angel deserted her councils, when it is notorious among those who know any thing of the secret history of that Cabinet, that men of position and influence, allowed themselves to be made instruments in direct opposition to their convictions? and instead of resigning their place in a Cabinet, where they could not make their opinions prevail, consented to remain and carry out a policy they deplored? Is it not a sign of fatal change, when the discipline of parliamentary parties is acknowledged in Cabinets; and the minority allows itself to be bound in the most important matters by the majority, with whom it radically disagrees?

Great Britain had transferred her worship to a new Deity. And his worship demands a shifting subserviency, instead of an inflexible adherence to principle. But it will bring, as it always has brought if persisted in, *ruin*.

She allowed herself to be dragged, shout-

ing with delight, into what is called the Crimean war.

After having in every variety of language, during a period of nearly three years, given blame to France, for throwing the brand of discord into the affairs of Eastern Europe ; and admitted the necessity, justice, and right of the Russian interference, remonstrances, and proposals or demands for a return, and conventional assurance of adherence in future to, the status quo, she became the ally of the power she had condemned, the antagonist of that she had justified. How is this to be accounted for ? A vast change had taken place since the dispute about the holy places was begun by France. A lately elected President of the Republic for four years threw in the brand, in May 1850. He had a little surprised the world already it is true ; but he was far, very far from having removed the contemptuous opinion that had been so long entertained of his talents and resources.

But it is the Emperor of the French—the full vigour of resuscitated and re-established Buonapartism, that orders the French fleet to Salamis, in March 1853. Buonapartism is in the ascendant. It no sooner re-appeared, than efforts were made to conciliate it. It has seated itself firmly on the throne; too much cannot be done to secure its favour. What will it naturally desire? What does the principle inherent in it demand? An excuse for giving unlimited extension to its armaments; for gratifying its thirst of glory; for recovering its former ascendancy. But it cost twelve hundred millions sterling, and tens of thousands of precious lives to divest it of, to control it in, to destroy this! Never mind. It is much better to abet it in directing its energies elsewhere, than to alienate its affections, and fall myself under its displeasure. She was afflicted with judicial blindness. The fairy charm was on her. She could lavish endearments on what would

have most repelled her. She was Titania, but it was a boa constrictor not an ass she fondled. And thus it was, to quote one of her noble sycophants, that "an instinctive conception of future danger in the universal British mind, popularized the war for the *integrity of the Ottoman empire.*" In meaner but more truthful words, she chose to jump out of the frying-pan into the fire, and call it Divine Wisdom so to do.

CHAPTER XXX.

AND to what was this owing? To that which has led many great nations to ruin. An enormous wealth had corrupted the national heart. She made it an idol. She worships it. Every thing else became subservient to it. Principles, position, duty, what were all these compared with wealth? She is entangled by it. It is a constant snare to her. It embarrasses her at every step. She has not cast off God; but even to Him, from whom came every thing she has, she grants but the second place. To appear too Christian in India might affect her wealth. She is punished by an outburst of those very prejudices to which she was so tender. Does this unseal her eyes? No. The great antagonist of Christ has her, as a nation, in his

clutch. The name of Christ is met on the threshold of her Legislature by a representative of wealth. He cannot pass while it is there. He demands its abasement, that he may come in and shew his glory. Down goes the Holy Name of Him, to whom all power in heaven and earth has been committed. Its complications made her voice very soft, as an advocate of civil and religious liberty in Europe. She did not renounce her principles, but she was feeble in asserting them. Would that system of brutal and atrocious tyranny, applied and upheld by Austria in Italy, have needed the interposition of a more enlightened despotism, that fights for tangible and solid ideas, had she been faithful to her trust? No. And if the French command of all the resources of Italy prove dangerous to her, she has only her new God to blame. The downfall of every kingdom, that does not acknowledge the glorious name of the Saviour of mankind has

been decreed. She casts her eyes on one that she thinks is essential to the security of some of her wealth. "It shall not perish," she exclaims; "I will uphold it in its integrity." Had Satan been seen to ascend direct from hell, and seat himself in Europe a mighty monarch, ready to promote above all things the increase of wealth, she would have been first to welcome him. This made her look with such tender eyes at the danger that sprung up anew at her side. It crushed liberty as it rose. Did that make it odious to her? She could not afford it. She dropped a tear, and smiled. But she saw it was a danger. Rather, however, than confront it, and restrain it when it was comparatively feeble, and *must* have listened to her, she linked herself with it. She assisted its youth; it grew gradually but rapidly to maturity; it was constantly strengthening; but naturally enough—the courage she lacked at first, it became daily more and more difficult

to acquire. Thus it has progressed, until her position has become almost too painful for endurance. It cheats her—it cajoles her—it conceals from her as from all others, its intentions—it has no mercy upon her just disquietude—it is unceasing in its efforts to augment and perfect that arm of its strength which alone could give her a feeling of insecurity, *and which it needs for no other purpose than possible hostility with her*—it involves her in an enormous expenditure, even for common prudential measures,—but, it smiles—it parades its friendship—it associates itself with her in paltry indifferent matters—it asserts their interests to be identical and inseparable even when most flagrantly pursuing only its own, and even tells her, that were it not for its great sincerity and love, her suspicions are so offensive they would justify a rupture. Or as Mons. Abouï says, in his pamphlet launched at Prussia, at the moment the Emperor was

taking the Prince Regent's hand with friendly warmth, "If you will persist in saying, I intend to slap your face notwithstanding my denial, simply because I have the power to do so, I may be compelled to justify your assertion, to put an end to the dispute."

How the embarrassment of Great Britain has become at last so painful must be now clearly understood. But in what does her embarrassment consist?

Her only security—her only counterpoise to the great Military Powers, was her Maritime supremacy. Her navy was equal to that of all Europe combined. Now, within a few miles of her shores, the greatest of those military powers, an active Military Despotism, with an army of from half a million to a million of men, has as many effective ships and guns as she has; with power to man them in a few days or hours, which she has not. She is in friendly alliance with it, yet knows nothing of its purposes. She

is ready to make any sacrifice for peace, save what involves the most flagrant and open dishonour; and is amicably confronted by one who thinks the mantle of success hides every stain, and that his friendship is entitled to receive every sacrifice. She is a party to many territorial settlements in Europe, and feels no certainty that any of these will be respected. But her heart is alienated, and justly, from those whom it most concerns. She has no desire again to prop up and to restore, stupid, brutal despotisms. She knows they too have all a territorial covetousness—that they are all accessible to a great temptation. She has therefore no confidence in any of them; and finds it difficult to determine, that any of the matters in which they may be menaced, are worth her fighting for with them against her great ally, who could at any time detach them from her, by offering them their price; yet dares not say, she will not fight for them, lest she

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should that hasten a catastrophe she would avert. It becomes now daily more and more difficult to preserve that comparative degree of power in the South and East, that can alone secure her trade, and insure her communications with her Eastern possessions. Changes seem to impend there, that threaten to force her to a decision she desires to avoid. In brief :—She has a mighty friend, who is an universal disturbing cause ; whose friendship cannot be depended upon, one moment longer than suits his purpose ; or be preserved, except by her continually submitting to occupy the second place. She has lost her sense of security at home ; lost her conscious pride of naval superiority ; and with it, her confidence in the stability of her power abroad. She can no longer give an impulse ; she must wait and receive one.

And what does this really mean ?

That she has basely betrayed her position,

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her influence, and her safety ; and, *has no fixed policy*. She is a cheated prostitute among the nations ; has sold herself for gold, and cannot secure the price.

CHAPTER XXXI.

HER embarrassments may therefore be resolved into three questions :

The Continental.

The Mediterranean, or Eastern Question.

The Home.

The Continental consists in the presumed intention of Napoleon III. to absorb Belgium, and reconstitute the Frontier of the Rhine ; to restore what are called in France, the natural boundaries of that country.

Let it be admitted for argument that these *presumed*, are the *real* intentions of the Emperor. What embarrassment do they necessarily create for Great Britain ? Whence can it arise ?

From the Treaty of Vienna ? No. Ten thousand times, no. That is defunct. It

had no real vitality. It soon died. All that can be said of it is, that some portions of the corpse are not yet interred. Can it be contended for a moment, that after having allowed the body to be cut and hacked, and partially dissected, she is called upon to fight about one or two disjointed members? It is too absurd for argument. Called upon to do so, she cannot be. Make it herself a plea for doing so, she dare not. The only way in which it could be contended for a moment that she is compromised by the Treaty of Vienna, is to take the ground, that the territorial limitations and arrangements made in that treaty, were only a secondary and comparatively unimportant part of it : that the vital part was its principle ; and this principle, the prevention of any increase of French power and influence in Europe. But nothing can be done on this ground. The position is untenable. By that treaty France was stripped of the acquisitions she

had made, and they were disposed of as then seemed best. But there could be no eternal engagement against French, any more than any other extension. What the treaty bound the subscribing parties to was, to uphold in all its integrity of course, the settlement then made. From the moment important re-adjustments were admitted to be necessary, and the right to make infractions was tacitly accorded, as Holland and Belgium, Poland, Cracow, that obligation was at an end. Holland, Poland, Cracow, Austria for Lombardy, the Sovereigns of Parma, Modena, Tuscany, the Romagna have appealed to it in vain : Switzerland and Naples and the Pope, appeal to it, happily in vain. Who then would dare to set it up for the Rhine Provinces ? to galvanize that leg of it for the occasion, and insist it contained the life of the whole body ? There is no compromise, thank God, by the Treaty of Vienna. Great Britain is perfectly free to

take the course she may deliberately decide to be best for her interests.

But Belgium? Well, Belgium is a more recent settlement. With her separate existence, commenced the introduction of two new principles in Europe, diametrically opposed to that of the Treaty of Vienna. A principle of progress; and a principle of election. It was admitted that no permanent limits can be imposed upon the interests and desires of peoples; that the direction in which they shall alone move, cannot be permanently and irrevocably fixed: and—the importance of which cannot be exaggerated,—that there existed an inherent right in peoples to choose to whom they would or would not belong, as well as the form of government under which they would live. Nothing need be said of Greece and Egypt; but if any doubt existed as to whether Belgium established a principle, or was only an exception, that has been quite

set at rest. The Emperor Napoleon has furnished opportunity for a practical decision, by which he has already benefited, and to which he may have again occasion to appeal. By his Italian campaign, he not only transferred Lombardy according to its wishes, from Austria to Sardinia, but left Tuscany, Modena, Parma, and the Romagna to decide their own fate. Never had anything a more complete success in Great Britain. Ministers and people—there was complete unanimity that this right should be subject to no restraint. The inherent right of the people to get rid of their rulers, and to unite themselves with any State, consulting only their own sympathies and interests—or in other words, to control their own destinies, was established by universal assent. It was then decreed, that all considerations of preponderance of influence, or balance of power, or any other such mutable immutables, must

bend and bow, before this inalienable natural right of Peoples.

Having thus provoked an enthusiastic admission or confirmation of the principle, the Emperor proceeded to its further application for his own interests. Who could contest, in the face of recent and contemporaneous facts, the right of Savoy and Nice to reunite themselves with the glorious Empire; who deny to Chablais and Fancigny, the right to decide that they also will belong to France, and force them and some adjacent territory, into the arms of Switzerland? And if Belgium be brought to entertain a similar desire—or, if it become a disputed point whether she desire it or not, who could say that the Emperor Napoleon would not be perfectly justified in insisting that the people should be left to their free and unfettered choice, and that a general election by universal suffrage under his auspices, should alone decide the issue. A principle cannot

be established one day, and denounced the next ; be set up, and knocked down, as the interests involved in its application may vary. By the settlement of Belgium, there is no doubt she is entitled to call upon Great Britain and other powers to defend her against attack. But all that was guaranteed is the independence of Belgium. She abandoned nothing of her inherent right to dispose of herself. She is not guaranteed against her own desires and interests—against herself—but against any forcible attempt from without to destroy her independence. Having desires that were but too well calculated to provoke a general European war, the Emperor Napoleon cannot be too highly extolled for the wisdom and prudence by which he has sought, while gratifying his desires, to prevent such a catastrophe. Had he first turned to Belgium for the confirmation of the principle—war would have been the result. But by first

obtaining the glorious wreath of Deliverer of Italy—oh—let all the world bow down before this profound and subtle genius! There is nothing therefore in the intentions imputed to Napoleon III. that necessarily involves Great Britain, except that she may be called upon, conjointly with others, by Belgium, to aid her in repelling, or to deliver her from, an invader. And this is not probable. Napoleon III. knows too well the value of a good principle, and how to promote its exercise.

No one will contend that any reversionary interest in Hanover, should be allowed to weigh as a single grain in a decision of so momentous a question, as Peace, or War.

The Continental embarrassment is not therefore, that she may be forced into war through any existing compromise. But would the annexation of Belgium to France by a vote of its people, and the Rhine Provinces, as the result of a war, be so dangerous to her, that

she had better, if they became imminent, join issue at once, for again expelling Buonapartism from France.

How would this endanger England? Through her commerce? The Emperor, by the late treaty, has opened better prospects to it than any it has in a prolongation of the present rule in those territories. Through augmented military resources? They would be inoperative as against her? Naval? The increase would be unimportant. Antwerp? The British naval organization, to be adequate to her entire security, *must* be such, that it would make this addition, though in the North Sea, of small comparative importance. Where is the danger, where are the enormous interests at stake, that would justify a war? *They do not exist.* But these could not take place without a great change in Germany. Admitted. But do you think to perpetuate, *eternally*, those governmental absurdities, that host of petty rulers?

Let them follow Tuscany, Modena, Parma, and the rest. A powerful North German Empire would be more than a counterpoise to that French extension. There can be nothing more desirable in the eyes of any really enlightened statesman. It would put an end to all dreams of the tripartite absolute division. The North German Empire would undoubtedly become a great Constitutional State. The present tendencies throughout Northern Germany are toward a greater share of power by the people.

Each little petty porcupine erects its quills when it hears of popular rights ; but when the whole brood shall be defunct, and Prussia inherit all their skins, it will place them in a great and noble constitutional museum, under the safe custody of the people. The great future of Prussia looms in the distance. She has her course to run. While Austria passes through dismemberment and decrepitude to virtual extinction, Prussia

will in turn advance, and rapidly, to her culminating point. All nations at all times are either advancing or receding. They may seem so, but they are never stationary. The moment the one ceases, the other begins; and when it has begun, there is no reascension. It may be more or less bright in its declension, but it never rises again. The fiat is issued. Its destiny is accomplished. There is no going back of the hand on the dial for it. Man cannot effect it—God will not. He has chosen another instrument. Requiescat!

No. Great Britain cannot fight to maintain the *status quo* in Northern Germany, with any greater reason than she could to maintain it in Italy. To do so, even as an ally of Prussia, would be an absurd failure. There can be no dependable alliance for preserving it. Austria is a broken reed. No one in his senses leans on such an instrument. She is hopelessly bankrupt in glory,

means, and character. In revoking the Constitution, and signing the Concordat with the Pope, her present Emperor annihilated her. Yet it is as well to remember how ready she was by the treaty of Campo Formio to accept Venice and the greater portion of the possessions of the latter on the mainland: it should not be forgotten, that Russia preferred the possession of the Austrian port of Cattaro to the interests of the alliance; and marched into Moldavia for her own peculiar aggrandisement, immediately after the battle of Jena, the army then so essential for covering the retreat of the discomfited Prussians: while it *must* be borne in mind that Prussia, after the Austrian defeat at Austerlitz, negotiated an alliance with Napoleon I., by the terms of which she was allowed to seize and possess Hanover; and that under cover of the confusion produced by the French revolution of 1848, she endeavoured to absorb, under the name

of a German Empire, all the smaller States.

No. There are no elements of a dependable confederation to uphold the *status quo* in Europe by force of arms; and if there were, it would be too damning a folly and iniquity, for Great Britain to enter into it now.

CHAPTER XXXII.

“And in that day will I make Jerusalem a burdensome stone for all people.”—ZECHARIAH xii. 3.

ON account of her trade, England always attached great importance to the freedom of the Mediterranean. Her route to India now lies through it. The joint result is, the EASTERN QUESTION; the English view of which may be thus stated: *To keep the Mediterranean free from the absolute control or undue preponderance of any one Power; and to prevent such changes of territorial rule in that direction as might prejudicially affect her trade, and make her dependent on one of the Great Powers for those facilities of access to India she now possesses.*

Thus Jerusalem became a burdensome stone to her in 1853. The war originated

in the case of the Berhlehem Chapel, having
~~been given~~ into the sole custody of the pro-
~~cess~~ of France. With the disputes this
~~involved~~, the fear of Russian supremacy
~~arose~~. To allay this fear, the British
~~government~~ threw an actual preponderance,
~~which may become an absolute control~~, into
~~its hands~~ of France. The key of the
~~chapel~~, thus continued in the same way as
~~before the removal~~ ~~English~~ ~~interests~~, if
~~it did not cause~~ much of the embarrassing
~~complication~~ of European affairs. And the
~~case is not~~ not.

Thus church law became "The integrity of
 the Woman's Cause." What some more
~~important~~.

But the government wisdom has
~~been~~ ~~so~~ ~~varied~~
~~and~~ ~~so~~ ~~vacillated~~—how
~~it~~ ~~resolves~~, promoting
~~its~~ ~~counteracted~~ its un-
~~qualified~~ desire,—doing that

which tended toward what it most deprecated, and expressed its determination to prevent. And why? Quid vult perdere Deus,—The fate of the policy that would uphold the Turkish power is predetermined on high. The integrity of the Empire was for a time lost sight of—it dwindled to the mere prevention of the extinction of Turkey as a State; and when the State had been well docked, the Bethlehem key set the integrity of the Empire on its legs again. Integrity of Turkey! Prevent its extinction! Human power may as well attempt to prolong night, and impede the return of day. If men were not so determined to exclude the hand of God from the government of the world, they would have been glad long ere this to shelter their absurd jumble, as regards Turkey, under the mantle of an overruling Providence. It is determined to preserve her; but, behold, the Greek war; the battle of Navarino; the acknowledgment of

Greek independence ; the sympathies for Mehemet Ali ; the virtual severance of Egypt ; the endeavour to replace her in the old dependence ; the Syrian expedition ; the Crimean war, and its only Turkish results, the virtual severance of Moldavia, Wallachia, and Servia from the Empire ! Is not the hand of God visible, confounding the wisdom of men, who would set up their fancied selfish interests against his unalterable decree, and bringing their counsel to nought. Nations can no more build safely on the sand than can individuals. Could there be a more unstable foundation than *a necessary perpetuity of the Turkish Empire—an infidel state in Christendom ?*

The inevitable extinction of every Power that doth not acknowledge Christ, has been declared. And it is called a high and profound policy ! to check the continual and uninterrupted declension and enfeeblement of the Turkish power, an infallible prog-

nostic of its extinction. It cannot be perpetuated and re-invigorated. The necessary elements do not exist. The policy is therefore one of mere temporary expedients, to avert as long as possible the impending consequence—the death of the sick man, and the disposal of his corpse.

It can be nothing but this; for what is Turkey? Whence does it derive any claims upon the sympathies of Great Britain? Not from its antiquity,—for it is modern. Only four centuries have passed since the Turkish power seated itself on the Bosphorus. Not from its possessing any natural claim to its territory; for it obtained it by conquest. Not because what it displaced was so dreadful an enormity; for though enfeebled and corrupt it was a Christian and a learned State. Not from any impulse it gives to civilization and refinement; for it has produced no literature,—evinced no capacity for progress,—done nothing towards European

or Asiatic advancement, but made a vast territory unprolificate and useless. Not from its regard for the indefeasible rights of man; for it is the only European state in which the possession and sale of slaves is legalized; that buys and sells White as well as Negro flesh and blood. And certainly, neither from its gradually becoming Christian, nor because it is more commercially profitable than would be an active, civilizing state, developing the rich resources of an unsurpassed soil and climate. No. It has no such claims, whether religious, moral, or commercial. As a necessary consequence, there is no real sympathy for what exists.—But—there is an apprehension of what would succeed it.

This apprehension must be got rid of. The extinction of Mahometan rule is inevitable, nor ought Great Britain to *desire* any thing else. It must cease. The religion of Mahomet was a creed of conquest, not of per-

manent sovereignty. It was a permitted scourge upon the unfaithful Christianity, the gross idolatry of the East. The moment a Mahometan state ceases to be a conquering one, it begins to decay ; there is an inherent vice in its organization leading to this result, for the days of the Empire of the False Prophet are fixed and numbered. Her extinction being inevitable, it is a ridiculous policy that would protract her useless and baneful existence. It is also costly and dangerous ; because it may, *as it has already done*, conduce to eventualities never contemplated. The apprehension must be got rid of. What has it been ? Russia desiring, and Turkey expiring : a constantly advancing Christian power in contact with, and pressing daily by the mere force of circumstances closer and closer upon a constantly declining infidel one, and threatening to seat itself in Constantinople. The apprehension is, in that aggrandisement of Russia.

Many objects that inspire terror, cease to do so when they are steadily looked at. Territorial extension does not necessarily bring augmented power, without a countervailing disadvantage. It sometimes makes more vulnerable. And how often what nations as well as individuals deprecate, becomes in turn desired. Look at the war of the Spanish succession, at the beginning of the 18th century. And again: one change does not take place alone: there is a constant universal mutation. It is too much the fault of politicians that in regarding a possible or probable event, they consider that change with reference to all else, as it at that moment exists, while not only all surrounding objects, but that on which they themselves stand is changing too. This feared aggrandisement of Russia must be looked at steadily. It could not be unaccompanied by other equally great changes, whether the solution be a pacific or a bloody one. Great Britain

cannot afford another such error as that last war. It was tenfold worse than a mere waste of her blood and treasure. It has assisted a new aggrandisement, which, if nothing else did, may render a total change of policy necessary. The changes in Italy have produced this inevitable result,—that French influence there will be supreme. The present enthusiasm in Italy, will last until the idea of a united Italy is in some way or other realized, and all, save Rome and Civita Vecchia, be under one influence if not one sole rule. These France will hold. But even if she did not, the result would be the same. There will be no strength of independent existence in the anticipated kingdom of Italy. It will weigh nothing, of itself, in the balance of power, but only with France, who, but for our possession of Gibraltar, would long since have made the Mediterranean a mere French lake. That is an ineradicable French idea, as the possession

of Constantinople is a Russian one. But she never can compass it, if Russia obtain Constantinople, and Great Britain retain Gibraltar. And as Great Britain cannot afford another war to keep Turkey alive, Constantinople *must* become either French or Russian. *Must* ; for a Christian state cannot replace the Mahometan, without the introduction of a new and vigorous element. To attempt to construct one with the native Christian population, would be to doom those countries to a desolating anarchy for a while, without avoiding that inevitable result ; and who would dare to counsel under the influence of selfish and ignorant fear, a temporary expedient of so infamous a character.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

It matters not whether the denial of any desire to possess Constantinople, made by the late Emperor of Russia, in 1853, was sincere. Admit that it was, though he had found no practicable alternative. Certainly Great Britain did not wish to be burthened with Candia and Egypt. But the Emperor could not be sincere in a belief of any final settlement in converting the Turkish territories into a number of little independent States ; and States under his protectorate. The solution will be governed by necessities as well as desires. The cross-gartered Malvolio found that "some have greatness thrust upon them." So may Russia, so may Great Britain. That war of 1853-4, has conduced to changes that have materially altered the

aspect of affairs in the East. It raised Sardinia to factitious importance—gave a new impulse to the youth of Italy—and has led to the overthrow of the degrading tyrannies of that country. The French influence has at least doubled in the Mediterranean since 1858, while no other has increased, and Russian has disappeared with her destroyed fleets, which although never entitled to shew themselves, weighed in the balance by their proximity. France feels herself so powerful there, that she can act without the concurrence of England. The Emperor has sent out one of his glutinous threads towards Egypt, in the shape of Mons. Lesseps and his great Suez canal scheme—the troubles in the mountains, near Beyrout, will serve for another, if another be needed; and the British government, having learned by experience that he seldom abandons an idea once entertained, has found it necessary to prepare Malta against a surprise. Every thing in

that quarter tends in one direction; and if Europe should be blessed with another ten years of Napoleon III. some new powerful influence must have been previously introduced to the Mediterranean, or will have to be introduced, during one of the most bloody and disastrous wars Great Britain will have ever known, as the only means of preventing the full realization of the French Lake scheme. The prohibition to create another Russian fleet in the Black Sea, was an enormous step gained by the Emperor of the French, *now* the boasted protector of Wallachia and Moldavia. Oh, Jerusalem has become a burdensome stone to England!

But Napoleon III. has great wisdom as well as great ambition. L'Empire, c'est la paix. He would prefer realizing a portion of a great Idea by peaceful means, to riding that brilliant steed, it might be to death, with ruin to himself, through a destructive war.

It must be repeated, Great Britain could not undertake another war, to preserve the Turkish empire. It must fall. And the sooner the better.

How much it is to be regretted that those Russian sympathies, Lord Palmerston was said to have been under the influence of, should have ever yielded to the seductive charms of Buonapartism. But good often issues from evil; and why may he not be the means of uniting Great Britain firmly, both with his old love, and his new.

It is only thus, the peace of the world can be secured; and a new impulse be given to its progress.

The Eastern Question presents a triple choice. There is no *status quo* to preserve, for every thing is in transition. The principle of change is so active, that there is no *status quo*.

There is only a triple choice. Abandon the Mediterranean to France, and accept a

passage through it to India, as a grace and favour—Risk a greater war than the world has ever yet known—A full and entire understanding and compact between Great Britain, France and Russia, for a preconcerted and prearranged partition of Turkey, based on a possession of Constantinople by Russia.

The first, not even the most inveterate lover of peace would counsel. The second, every Christian man ought to oppose. There is only the third for adoption.

There is no moral question involved in such a partition. There can be no analogy between it and that of Poland. The Turks conquered by force of arms, the territory they now hold with so much danger and disadvantage to Europe, and its peace. It is a novel doctrine, that a rule and title thus acquired, has a right to depend for support upon peoples who were all aggrieved by the conquest. The triumphant invader, is now

an enfeebled and debased infidel numerical minority, supported by Christian powers in a brutal domination, over a still more enfeebled and debased Christian numerical majority. No edicts of the Sultan, which he has no power to enforce, in favour of the Christian population, can relieve the domination of its practical brutality. No. The Turk is there by force, and he must yield in turn to that law of superior force, in which alone he found his title. The infidel rule must give place to at least nominally Christian rule. It is inevitable. There is nothing in Turkey to justify the shedding one drop of Christian blood, in what must be a vain attempt to uphold her. Let the Eastern Question have a pacific solution. Remove that dark cloud, with all its dreadful contingencies, from the European horizon. The pre-concert, instead of being an immoral act, would be one of positive and high morality. It would lead to the avoidance of ten thou-

and horrors, that must accompany a bloody solution. It would not involve any of the misery attending on a confiscation of private property, but be a mere transfer of rule. There is only one private legitimate interest that must necessarily be wounded by it; that of the Sultan himself. But shall the interest of millions in what are now considered his territories; and the interests, blood, and treasure of the largest Christian states of Europe be pitilessly sacrificed, that he may continue to pursue his peculiar enjoyments, in Constantinople, instead of in Cyprus? Look at what is occurring near Beyrout. For some time, the fanatical Druses have been murdering and plundering the Christians, and desolating their country. There is no reliable data as to the number of victims, but it must have been very great. And now, these same Druses, having obtained the further aid of hordes of plundering Kurds and Bedouins, have attacked the town of Zahléh,

the last refuge of the poor Christians, burnt it to the ground, and murdered above 1000 men, women, and children. Shall such horrors as these be permitted, that he may remain at Constantinople?

Personally, there is no doubt, he has been disposed to hold the brutal fanatical element which has constituted the sole strength of Turkey, in greater subjection than heretofore, for the benefit of the Christians under his rule. But his government is incapable of any sustained effort for that object. And it is only from time to time, when in consequence of an accumulation of atrocities the subject is forced anew upon it by the Christian powers, and more especially by Russia, whose Emperor, as the acknowledged head of the Greek Church, keeps a watchful eye upon the members of that communion in Turkey, that some excesses are punished, and some temporary redress obtained. But such is the state of decrepitude into which

the Turkish government has fallen, that immediately a remonstrance is made by Russia, up starts the Eastern Question ; and the independence and dignity of the Infidel Sultan and his government, are manifestly considered by Great Britain as outweighing in importance, all the Christians in the Ottoman Empire. The independence and integrity of that Empire is so delicate a matter, and the future of Great Britain depends so entirely upon the preservation of this rapidly decaying Infidel State in Christendom, that her Government would shut its eyes to every internal enormity not affecting British subjects ; were it not for the watchful guardianship of Russia. For it must be repeated, nothing is ever done, except under an impulse communicated by the latter power. Both the fact, and the idea, are discreditable to England. If the future of Great Britain has no better foundation than this on which to rest, the sooner she abdicates,

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gives up every pretension as a great power, and places herself under the protectorate of France the better. She will at least get rid of the expense of enormous armaments ; and having renounced her sceptre, will no longer be sinning against the vital principles of her existence as a State.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THERE must be an *acknowledged* new policy on the Eastern Question. It is only thus, England can get rid of her embarrassment with regard to it. Her interests are no more separately identified with those of France, than they are with those of Russia, in the East of Europe. When she possessed an incontestable naval superiority, she thereby counterbalanced the immense advantages France enjoyed through her territorial position. It may then have been her interest also to exclude any third great power from the Mediterranean. But that superiority exists no longer. The French navy is equal to that of Great Britain; and as regards that very important point, facility of manning, surpasses it. France can at any time in

three or four days, send a powerful fleet, with a large land force out of Toulon, upon any expedition that may have been secretly resolved upon. Since the equalization of the navies, England has been placed in a position of such manifest inferiority as regards the Mediterranean, which has now no Turkish fleet, and no Russian Black Sea fleet in immediate proximity, that something must be done to restore the equilibrium. And the only effective thing that can be done, is to bring the two great rival Military Empires face to face there. Russia must be gained at Constantinople. This will bring her in a new and within a short time formidable Maritime Power into the Mediterranean: that so long deprecated event.

But there never has been any great territorial change among nations, without accompanying prognostications of awful dangers. And no prospective one has per-
 ceived more alarm, than that of

Constantinople in the possession of Russia. In their estimates of future, men deceive themselves, not only by dispensing with an overruling Providence, but also by excluding the host of secondary causes that must infallibly operate with modifying or counteracting effect ; and even so preponderate by their united though separate influences, (united in results, though separate in action) as to convert the supposed danger into a positive blessing.

Is Russia a power to be so much dreaded ? does her weight press heavily upon Europe ? what is the secret of her undue influence ? Her inaccessibility. She exercises her influence from a position in which she cannot be assailed. Napoleon I. tried to penetrate to it, with what fatal results for himself is well known. Is it not better to bring the giant where he may be got at, where he may stand on the same level, and be equally exposed with his assailants ? Place him

in what is now the capital of Turkey. It will be for the advantage of England, of Europe in general, of Civilization, and more than all, of Christianity. The Emperors of Russia are magnificent. What has been accomplished at St. Petersburg, where such enormous difficulties had to be overcome at every step, is a guarantee of what would be done at Constantinople, where every desirable facility would be found to exist. The Russian nobility are wealthy and profuse. Every effort would be made to change Constantinople into the gayest and most attractive capital in Europe, to which its lovely situation, with which none other can compare, its climate, its relative position will conduce. And this would exercise a powerful modifying influence. Russia would be in immediate presence of, and contact with, France and England. France, having possession of Asia Minor, including the opposite shores of the Bosphorus, in face of

Constantinople, and the Dardanelles, the two Empires could not fail to act and re-act forcibly on each other. They would prove to be a constant and useful check upon one another. The Mediterranean would become the great theatre of European political action, to the inestimable relief of Continental Europe, that would soon experience the blessing of reduced armies, the magnitude of which at this moment is a disgrace to the civilization of the nineteenth century, and a greater still to its professed Christianity. It would be better for France. It would remove a great, and what will soon become, if nothing be done to check her daily increasing preponderance there, an irresistible temptation, to undertake the entire subjugation of those regions, either to her arms, or to her sole influence. The march of events cannot now be arrested. It would be quite in vain for Great Britain, to ask her friend Napoleon III. to sell her a portion of the

French Navy ; and undertake never in future to augment it beyond one half the numerical force in ships and guns possessed by England. It would be impossible, even if a fancied self-interest could so harden the heart as to cause it to be desired, to undo what has been done in Italy. No greater self-deception could be practised than to admit the possibility even of Italy, under its new rule and institutions, having any independent political action—being ever other than subservient to France. Rome had once the Empire of the world. Italy was the seat of power. There is no instance on record in the history of the world, of a territory that has exercised great influence and power, has become dispossessed of it by gradual decay or forcible subversion, or by these conjoined, and sunk into dependence and comparative nothingness, being ever again entrusted by God with influence and power. It has lost its dower. It has ful-

filled its destiny. It has had its allotted share of the world's greatness. It can never renew the past. Italy may be more or less happy under the now progressing change; but she will be neither great nor independent.

The possession of Egypt, is becoming a necessity of England. It has never been an object of her desire, but it must become hers, or she must be satisfied with her old route to India. For the same reason, she must succeed to the rights of the Sultan over Morocco. She cannot hold Egypt without Syria, Palestine, and Arabia. She could not occupy a mere line of territory without surrounding influence. It is not the less a necessity, because it is disagreeable to her. And she ought to consider, that the civilization of the East is involved in this; that Christianity is most thoroughly mixed up with it. There cannot be the shadow of a doubt that her possession of

those countries would procure inestimable advantages for their people. And is it not then worse than absurd, is it not like a refusal to employ for Him the power that God has put into her hands, that she should, because of a phantom of danger from Russia at Constantinople (if such an idea can be longer entertained), doom those people to a continuance of their present positive or comparative misery, and impede the progress of Christianity and civilization. And not only may she effect this good by the preconcerted partition, but prevent the horrors of a bloody and violent solution, that now impends. This would, indeed, be a noble triumph for the Christian civilization of the nineteenth century. The voluntary exigencies of Russia, and the consequent involuntary exigencies of the other powers may, as they have done, stimulate the Ottoman Government in favour of the Christian population ; but that Government, thus urged to act in opposition to the

very principle of its existence, must be thereby more and more enfeebled. And it can at least only effect a very minor degree of good. One of the violent denouncers of these Russian exigencies asserts, that the Ottoman Government has used every means *to guarantee the position of the Christians, as far as possible, in the presence of Mahometan fanaticism.* If it were possible to impart new strength to that Government, which it is not, it could only be done by fanning that fanaticism. It must fall. The unwilling action of its would-be preserver, Great Britain, is helping it to ruin.

The Eastern Question is only susceptible of that one solution, based upon Russia at Constantinople, and France in Asia Minor. The possession by the latter, who will of course take the Sultan's rights over Tunis and Tripoli, of a port or island, more or less, in the Mediterranean, such as Genoa and Sardinia, will then be a matter of no

importance. Costly palliatives, and continual apprehension and danger, with a certainty of an ultimate violent termination, may be preferred. But none have a right to complain of evils they have the power to remove; and a nation, that under such circumstances permits their continuance, is on the road to destruction. A policy, based upon the upholding what cannot be upheld, is no policy at all. It is a disgrace to human intellect. And like every unprincipled compromise with circumstances, must be incessantly subject to dangerous contingencies.

Let Europe vindicate her professed Christianity, and decree that the Mahometan conqueror of four centuries since shall be dethroned; that an infidel state shall no longer exist in Europe; that the reviler of Christ shall cease to sit on the throne of empire within her borders. To effect this, is an object worthy the ambition of any Sovereign. A Congress, with this object in view,

is worth convening, and would be as glorious, as one merely to register some French decrees, and prate over a now unimportant neutrality, will, if it take place, be humiliating.

Place the Sultan with his harem in Cyprus, giving him ample means for his installation, and ample revenue for his pleasures; agree upon the division of the Turkish territories, and there is an end—and this is the only end of the vexed Eastern Question. Stipulations might be made for a free circulation of the Word of God—for Missionary action—for the continuance of at least as much freedom of trade, and as moderate duties as prevail at present. A great stumbling-block would be thus moved out of the way of peace. While for a great Power such as England, to drift about without a decided and practicable policy, like some huge ship without a rudder, among the rocks and shoals and quicksands of perpetual change,

exposed to the furious storms and tempests of triumphant ambition, is to court that inquietude, uncertainty, and apprehension she deprecates; which at first involve humiliation, and if prolonged, disaster and dismay.

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE HOME QUESTION. "Skin for skin—yea—all that a man hath will he give for his life." The Eastern Question may be and is, important; it cannot be disregarded or protracted, without endangering the national prosperity, the national influence, the national strength, and through these, its existence. But *this*, is immediately vital. There can be no difference of opinion here, except with those whom the false doctrine of the "Universal-peace-through-Wealth-and-Luxury" system, deluded. They may preach the Brotherhood of Man under the banner of the Great Enemy of Mankind, but they will never cease to find Cain among the High Priests, in the Temple of this false divinity. Universal peace, security, and respect for

the rights of others, may be conceived as the fruit of triumphant Christianity, the practical domination of the precepts of its Divine Founder; but to whatever extent these may be admitted as the possible product of increasing wealth, to that extent there is dangerous and even ruinous delusion. That an extended commerce whence this wealth is derived, and by the increase of which it is ever augmenting, may be the means appointed by God for the dissemination of Divine Truth throughout the world—for bringing the offer of Salvation through one Great Redeemer to the whole human race, is a truth which may be admitted, without involving as a consequence, that the wealth can by possibility produce, any of the results men now seem determined to attribute to it. It has been the declared enemy of God, therefore of peace and holiness, in every age. Its corrupting power has undermined the greatest nations, and prepared

for them the gulf of their destruction. The partial influence of Christianity alone impedes it in its fatal work; and nothing but the unlimited sway of Christianity, can destroy its powers for evil.

What produced and continues the *Home Question*?—The inordinate increase of a steam propelled French navy.

But—why should this be more dangerous for England, than a naval preponderance on the part of Great Britain, for France?—The reasons are obvious :

1. We are a non-military, France is an enormous military power. Any attempt on our part to invade France, would be more than ridiculous; while our invasion by France, is a necessarily calculated contingency. For, among nations, whom no law controls, especially where all the powers of the State centre in one individual, and he the embodiment of an aggressive principle, there is only one safe course, viz. to take for granted that

what there is a power and inducement to attempt, will be attempted.

2. Publicity is a necessary part of the English system—Secrecy is a part of that of Napoleon III. England could not man her Fleet at present, without ample preliminary notification to all the world; France can man hers in a few hours, and secretly.

3. England has so many interests to guard distant from her shores; France comparatively none.

4. The British property exposed afloat, is incomparably greater than that of France so exposed.

5. England is much more dependent on important supplies by sea, than France can ever be.

6. France, without a Navy, in hostility with England, would not be endangered in her independent existence; while Great Britain overpowered at sea would be reduced

at once, to an entirely dependent existence.

7. An English Naval preponderance is not necessarily a demonstration against France; while the disproportionate French naval increase, is a necessarily constructive menace to, and a calculated restraint upon England.

This is too serious a question to be trifled with. The life of England is in it. It is absurd to think of avoiding a great peril by shutting the eyes and saying, "I will not see." Bring the danger out. Set it palpably before you. Look at it steadfastly. What is to be done with it? Is it as bad as it at first view seems to be? There is no security in a partial concealment. If the ostrich hide his head in a bush, his tail feathers betray him. Challenge it as Hamlet did the Ghost, and see if it can be got rid of. It stalks abroad, and frights the Isle from its propriety. Force it to speak, What do

you mean? Why do you thus make the time hideous? Is it INVASION? "Possibly!" Is it intimidation? "Positively." Do you say, how is its meaning to be got at? Through its acts. Words may be used to conceal thoughts, but a series of acts reveal them. Being a Continental State—having such an enormous army, what can you want with a Navy equal with, or superior to mine? "To keep you in order. I have desires you may not approve of. I am determined to realize them. With a great naval superiority, you might have been tempted to interfere with us. Now I can force you to think more than twice, whether it be worth your while to do so. I know when you can fight; and what it is worth your while to fight for, as well as you do. I have no desire to hasten such a catastrophe, where there is more to be lost than gained on both sides. Remember your old Scotch motto. That is mine now." —"But this is to make yourself supreme?"

“What did you take the Empire to be? a Bourbon snail not daring to put its head out of its shell when looked at; or a cotton umbrella ‘*juste milieu*’ sort of thing? While we are friends, my supremacy does not humiliate you. You have helped me up to it. All the world sees that. The best thing you can do is to seem proud of it. It reflects glory upon you in that way.”—“But you may really force me to interfere?”—“You had better not. It will be your own fault. Why should we tear each other to pieces, for the benefit of those effête decrepit despotisms? I will not interfere with you, if I can help it. Have I not done all I can, to prove my friendship?”—“But perhaps when you have arranged everything else to your satisfaction with my connivance, you may want to put my affairs in order too.”—“I do not say it is impossible; but there is nothing to be gained *now*, by anticipating such a period.

Another five years' peace between us is worth a great deal. And it is always well to trust something to chance. I may die. During my son's minority the Empire will be necessarily quiescent. Or, there are many unforeseen events that will exercise an influence in human affairs, and our views may be brought into perfect agreement—or, there will be at least a putting off of the evil day."—"But if not?"—"Well, if you force me to it, Guerre a mort. It will be an American duel with rifles in a saw pit. No solar system can endure two equal suns exercising their influence from opposite quarters. Every thing must necessarily be brought to a stand still until one prevail over the other power. It will be an universal calamity. But, again and again, the fault will not be mine. You knew what the Empire must necessarily be. It can only live in action; in internal and external develop-

ment. Help it in the first ; give it scope in the latter. Disarm it by prosperity and friendship ; and leave the rest to Providence."

This is the language of the Emperor Napoleon's acts. Do you think the publication in Germany, of that statement relative to the comparative Naval forces of France and Great Britain, when the Italian campaign was contemplated, was under any other than French inspiration ? That statement, which startled the people of England, enlightened the whole Continent, and was intended to effect both these objects. But for that revelation, might not the language of England have been very different in her friendly negotiations and remonstrances ? England was disarmed in her own conviction and in the knowledge of all Europe. She could be nothing but a spectator of events she was publicly told she was without all power to control. It was a master-stroke of policy, that fairly challenges public admi-

ration. The same hand that prepared and unmasked that battery is at work now ; and the world may look forward without any fear of disappointment to a rival perfection.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

YES : the life of England is in this Home Question. In permitting that great military Power to attain naval equality, she has placed herself in a position of permanent danger. The average property afloat on her coasts in imports, exports, and shipping, is one million sterling every day. She depends on the regularity and security of this trade, not only for the employment, but for the sustentation of millions of her people. From the many interests she has to guard distant from her shores, a large portion of her fleet will be always on foreign service ; for it is absurd to consider the Mediterranean in any other light. Of her active naval force, only a small part will be therefore available for her defence. And yet it is on the seas that

surround her, the battle of her life, if there is to be a battle, must be fought. There cannot be too great an increase of those Rifle and Artillery Corps now forming. But if it ever comes to a disputing foot by foot the soil of England with an invader, one half the life of the country will already have perished. Let it be granted that after a protracted conflict every invader be destroyed, what will she not first have lost? How inveterate and costly a struggle must she still maintain;—for to recover her prestige, she could never make peace, until she had annihilated every vestige of naval force in her opponent. An invasion, too, supposes an inadequate, a discomfited, or a destroyed fleet; and without an adequate protecting fleet, fifty thousand men may be followed by five hundred thousand. *The Battle of her Life must be fought on the seas surrounding her.* The Home Question therefore resolves itself mainly to this: How is the successful

issue of such a battle to be rendered certain?

It cannot be fought without means. If those means are to be drawn from the Mediterranean and foreign stations, the country may have half a million enemies in it before they arrive; and they may not even find a port for ammunition and supplies. The danger will be permanent, the means must be so too. The peril, should it ever come, will be sudden; the means must be at hand; certain; immediately available; and, the need being permanent, the cost must not be too excessive.

The Naval Reserve, as at present constituted, will never realize these conditions.

The present naval organization, is not adapted to meet the new and continuous emergency. Must England then perish, rather than this undergo a modification?

The country demands a constant guarantee of its soil from invasion; and the ships

running on, or leaving its ports, from molestation or seizure.

For this she requires a force that cannot—there must be impossibility—cannot be detached on foreign service. It should be placed beyond the power of any Government, or Board of Admiralty to do it.

Might not this impossibility be created, by the Navy being made to consist in future of two distinct parts—the Foreign Service Division, and the Home Service Division.

The former, would always bring a portion of its strength to assist the latter, which would be confined in its service to the four seas of Britain.

The Foreign Service Division, is already provided for in the present organization of our noble navy and efficient reserve.

The Home Service Division, would essentially differ in every respect, save that of efficiency.

All vessels for war, without steam propul-

sion, are now repudiated. Ships for foreign service require, however, the same rig as previously. They are not intended to be under steam, but to be under sail as a rule, under steam as an exception. There has not yet been any great naval engagement between fleets thus fitted. But very serious doubts have been expressed, as to the continued efficiency of the screw in action, from its liability to foul with the top hamper that will be shot away. Whether this doubt be well or ill founded is immaterial as regards the Foreign Service Division; the ships must remain as at present.

But the Home Service Division, should have no square rig. Let them spread as much sail as possible on low masts; but give them no top hamper. They would not leave the British seas. They would be always within easy reach of coaling stations. The use of the screw would be their rule, not their exception.

Dispensing with the square rig, there is a very large population of most able sailors and boatmen, on the rivers and coasts of Great Britain, to man this Home Service Division. They are not available for the Foreign Service Division, therefore the Navy as now organized, for three especial reasons, among others—viz., square rigged vessels; flogging; liability to be sent on a foreign service for one, two, three, or more years.

None of these objections would exist as regards the Home Service Division—not liable to be sent abroad; ships with simple rig; and exempt from flogging, because they could at all times be sent on shore for punishment.

Enrol fifty or sixty thousand of your most able boatmen, fishermen, small craft coastmen, etc. for this service, at £5 a year *for life*, retaining fee.

Let all these volunteers pass through the Home fleet every year. In time of peace

ten thousand afloat are requisite *now*. During peace, therefore, the Home Service Division, if sixty thousand be enrolled, would cost £300,000 a year retaining fee, and the wages, and supply, etc. of ten thousand men. They would have little to learn beside gunnery at sea, and all that appertains to naval combat. Of course, according to the number of men kept afloat, would be the period of annual service. Five thousand afloat, would have only one month's service a year. Ten thousand, would have two months.

The entire force, should be liable to be called out at a day's notice. The ships for them to man, should be always ready for immediate service.

With such a force, not all Europe combined could invade England; with less, she is liable to insult, if not danger; to grievous harm, if not ruin; and her necessary foreign

income is proposed. The sum of £5 a year for life would enable the man. It would be a little increase for the Irish and North Irish Irishmen and Irishmen : and would not be deducted by the English or Welsh, as nothing less the rest of a man's life. There would be no deduction, but the injuries received in service. No officers would be sent voluntarily in the Home Service Division, but he would be alternated with the Foreign Service Division.

A man's life of the Irish would always be at home for necessary reasons, and in making arrangements of business, and on return from special service, for putting off, and re-com-
missioning.

¶ For such a change. England's voice might again be heard with effect in the council of nations. No other Power would dare to interpose or infringe the right, to dispose of any part of Europe according to its own sole

pleasure or desire, under any pretext, however seemingly noble, however ingenious, or defensible.

England could then afford to adopt at all times a peace policy. She could lose no prestige. It could never be denounced as a policy of fear.

And she would need no costly and useless fortifications.

But they who most prize individual liberty, are most jealous of national liberty. The former cannot exist without the latter. If such a Home Service Division could not be manned by volunteers, there should be no compromise of the national right to the service of every one of her sons, in time of danger. To fit them for it they must be prepared; and the sixty thousand should be drawn for service as a National Naval Militia, with similar advantages to those proposed for volunteers.

There is no time to be lost. The voice of

Napoleon the Third's acts is loud and pressing. It calls for decision. Can Great Britain accept the position it has been represented as pointing out to her? Assuredly not. It would be her European abdication. It might then, indeed, be said to her, in Grattan's words — "You are nothing!" And if ever a nation had a duty assigned to her, she has. It need not be pointed out here. But to perform it, she must remain in the *first rank*. Is she, then, to plunge into hostilities with the French Empire? God forbid she should ever do so, if it can be avoided with safety and honour. But she cannot go on grumbling and acquiescing; making a show of resistance, but being still dragged onward. She has lost too much prestige and power already. She must make her position impregnable—and then—*she too must initiate a policy*. But let hers be bold, open, and declared. Let her state at once, that in presence of this

great disturbing cause, she would rather further than impede, the formation of a strong North German Empire, let what might happen to the Rhenish Provinces. That, in view of the effected and progressing changes in the Mediterranean, and the ineradicable vice and inevitable fate of the Ottoman Empire, she is ready to join in a definitive settlement of the Eastern Question, with a hope to secure thereby the peace of Europe, and promote the spread of Christianity and civilization.

But again, and again, she must make her position at home impregnable. The world cannot yet afford that she should perish. She is not a state whose annihilation or powerful existence, concerns only her own children ; but, in the beautiful language of Sheridan, in his last speech within the walls of the House of Commons, and perhaps the best he ever pronounced—" If she fall, it " will remain to be said of her by the im-

“partial historian, Britain fell; and with
“her fell the best securities for the charities
“of human life—the power, the honour, the
“fame, the glory, and the liberties, not
“only of herself, but of the whole political
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THE END.

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